

HINDKO IN KOHAT AND PESHAWAR

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Indo-Iranian linguistic frontier constitutes one of the most complex and interesting language-areas of the sub-continent. Given the nature of the area, it is perhaps inevitable that scholarly attention should have been directed particularly to its remotest corners, where so much that is of historical importance has been preserved, and we certainly have every reason to be grateful for the fascination which such out of the way survivals have held for the minds of several outstanding linguists. It is, on the other hand, a matter for regret that so little has been done by comparison on the languages which flourish in less inaccessible parts of the frontier, particularly on the Indo-Aryan side. The wide distribution of such languages alone, quite apart from their intrinsic interest, demands that they too be accorded adequate coverage if the peculiarly complex language-patterns of the area are ever to be properly understood as a whole. The present article, based largely on material collected during a recent field-trip to Pakistan,¹ represents an attempt to fill one such gap in contemporary coverage, by providing descriptions of the extreme north-western extensions of the main body of Indo-Aryan.

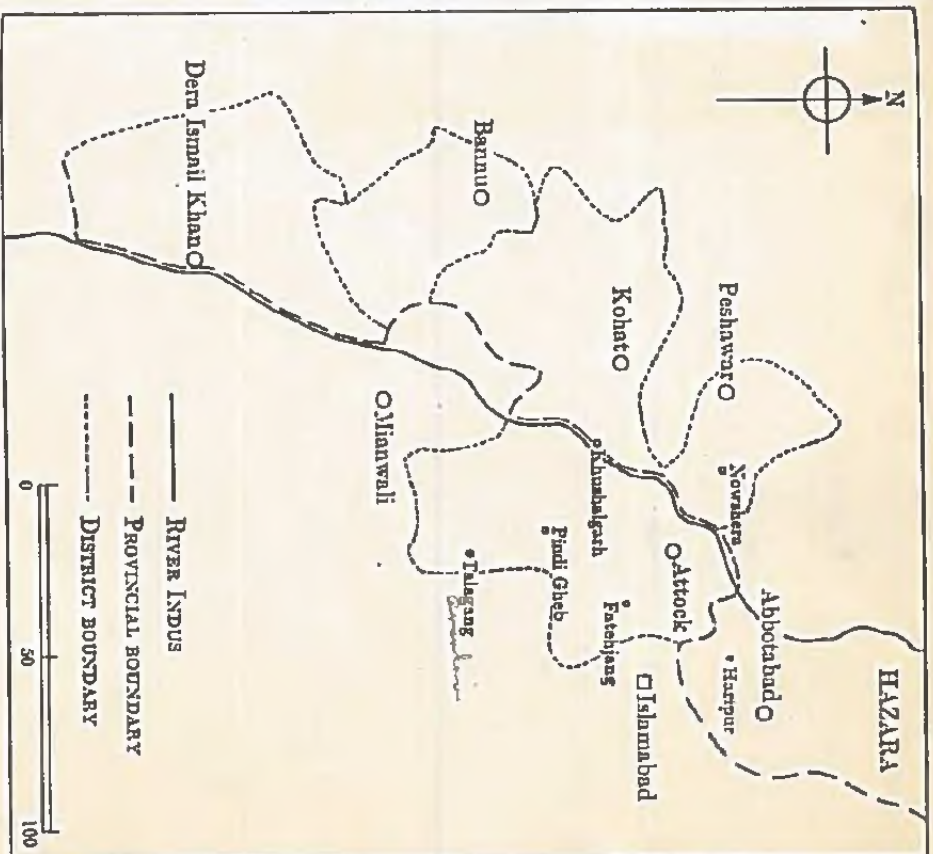
The term 'Hindko' is used in Pakistan as a collective label for the various Indo-Aryan dialects spoken either alongside or in the vicinity of Pashto in the north-west of the country, in the North-West Frontier Province and in the adjacent district of Attock (formerly Campbellpur) in the Punjab. The word evidently just means 'the Indian language', i.e. as distinct from Pashto, although various explanations are offered as to its origin.² In both function and formation it may be compared with the name 'Siriiki', or 'the language of the North', originally coined to describe the speech of immigrants from the south-western Punjab settled in Sind, where a somewhat similar situation of parallel language-use has prevailed.

While it is a useful and quite meaningful label in the context of the local diglossia with Pashto, 'Hindko' is, however, less satisfactory as a term of linguistic classification, since it embraces dialects of very different groups, not all of which are even geographically contiguous. The only serious attempt to have been made at a comprehensive description and classification of these

¹ This visit, undertaken from January to March 1970, was made possible by a grant of overseas research leave from the School of Oriental and African Studies. It would be impossible to thank individually all those who assisted me in Pakistan, but I should like to express particular gratitude to Mr. Aslam Bhatti in Islamabad, to Ayub Sabir and Javed Shah in Kohat, and to Sabir Hussain Imad, Sh. Shaukat, and Z. I. Athar in Peshawar.

² Theories current in the literary circles of Peshawar are variously advanced by Firzib Bukhari, 'Hindko adab', in Fayyaz Mahmud (ed.), *Qur'ān adabiyat-i masadad-i Hindko*, Peshawar, 1977, pt. II, Lahore, 1971, 210-50; Mubtahir 'Ali Nayyar, *Tarikh-i zabān-i Hindko*, Peshawar, 1977, and Sh. Shaukat, *Hindko zabān aur adab ka tariki jirga*, I, Peshawar, 1977, 15-23. In the *Linguistic survey of India*, VIII, pt. 2, Calcutta, 1970, 234 (subsequent reference to the *LSI* are to this volume), Grierson took 'Hindko' to mean 'the language of Hindia', a definition naturally hotly disputed in Pakistan. Grierson also understood 'Hindki' to be a synonym of 'Hindko', but the former term is used locally only in the sense of 'Hindko-speaker'. The slightly pejorative connotations of 'Hindki' (at least to Pathans) are avoided in the modern self-definitions of Hindko-speakers by such neologisms as 'Hindukin', which suggest parity with 'Pashtun'.

dialects is inevitably to be found in the *LSI*,³ still in most cases the sole published authority. Unfortunately, the poor quality of much of the information on which Grierson was forced to rely adversely affected the validity of his internal classification of the dialects, and this has failed to find widespread later acceptance.⁴ All the dialects known locally as 'Hindko' are grouped by Grierson in various sub-divisions of his 'Lahnda', the awkward construct



which he developed for the collective classification as a separate linguistic unit of the disparate dialects of the western Punjab and the regions adjacent to it. A further terminological complication is thus introduced into what is already a complicated enough situation on the ground.

³ The criteria for Grierson's classifications are set out in *LSI*, 230-43, 431-2.
⁴ Criticisms of Grierson's scheme are discussed in my paper 'Problems of classification in Pakistan Punjab', *JPS*, 1979, 191-210. The present article seeks to develop by concrete example some of the ideas sketched in this earlier paper.

While seldom corresponding precisely to linguistic boundaries, administrative units nevertheless provide the most convenient basis for a summary description of so-called 'Hindko' dialects, as a necessary preliminary to our main accounts. Five of the units shown on the map (on page 183) contain significant numbers of speakers of these dialects: the NWFP districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat, and Peshawar, as well as the division (formerly the district) of Hazara, and the Peshawar district of Attock.

(i) *Dera Ismail Khan*. Geographically and linguistically, this district has rather little in common with the rest of the NWFP. Only in the north-west is there a preponderance of Pashto-speakers. Elsewhere the great majority of the population are speakers of 'Hindko', which here means a variety of Sirāiki. Grierson's 'Southern Lahnda', the language of the Panjab districts to the south and east, with which cultural and social links are quite close.² The name 'Sirāiki' is in fact gaining popularity as the name for Dera Ismail Khan Hindko,³ which may be excluded from further discussion here.

(ii) *Attock*. Along the left bank of the Indus, which hardly anywhere forms a clear linguistic boundary, there are small settlements of Pashto-speakers. Elsewhere the internal administrative divisions of the district seem to correspond quite well to four main dialectal groupings. The dialect of the eastern tehsil of Facheh, known as *Sohāi*, is still undescribed, but clearly belongs with the Dhanūi group spoken in the neighbouring western parts of Jhelum district. This is the group muddlingly called 'North-Western Lahnda' by Grierson.⁴

In the southern tehsil of Talagang, separated from the northern Sirāiki of Mianwali by the Salt Range, the local dialect is most commonly called *Avāṇkārī*. The summary description in the *LSI* has been completely superseded by the excellent material presented by Bahri.⁵ Above this lies the closely related Ghelī, spoken in the tehsil of Pindi Gheb.⁶ These are both assigned by Grierson to the western branch of his 'North-Eastern Lahnda', a description which is

² The short account in *LSI*, 308-403 is not very informative. Differences from the central standard of Multan described in my grammar, *The Sirāiki language of central Pakistan* (SECP, London, 1976), are relatively slight. They include such typical northernisms as *ke* 'what' and *os* 'is this', *ko ke nāvōs* for *Multan kha nā* 'what is his name?', similarly the honorific *gāhīb* 'sir' rather than the characteristic southern *saī* (< *saīman*), and some archaisms, e.g. *ala* 'speak' (< *aiṭṭapant*), also found in the conservative Sirāiki of Sind for the central *bol*.

³ The Hindko of Dera Ismail Khan, referred to in the *LSI* (p. 404) as being similar to the northern Sirāiki of Mianwali (very imperfectly covered in my grammar), seems hardly to have survived the departure of the non-Muslim population in 1947. A missionary stationed in Dera Ismail Khan was responsible for the Hindko translation of St. John, published in *Yāṭanā di nūjī*, Lahore, 1929, but the language used is, if anything, Peshawar Hindko with a marked Panjab influence.

⁴ This is a consequence of the movement described in my article 'Sirāiki: a language movement in Pakistan', *Modern Asian Studies*, xi, 3, 1977, 379-403.

⁵ There is a quite good account of Dhanūi itself in *LSI*, 552-53, to be supplemented by the detailed phonetic description of the sub-dialect *Kāhānī* in *Sikhawar Varma*. 'The phonetics of Lahnda', *J.R.A.S.I. letters*, ii, 1936, 47-118.

⁶ *LSI*, 449-51, to be taken with the 'Lahnda of the Salt Range' described in *LSI*, 433-48, in an account based on material in J. Wilson, *Grammar and dictionary of Wāṭana Panjabī*, Lahore, 1859. Hardly Bahri, *Lahnda phonology* (with special reference to *Awāṇkārī*), Allahabad, 1962, and *Lahnda phonology* (with special reference to *Awāṇkārī*), Allahabad, 1962, are studies of outstanding quality; but the sub-titles are important, since the books describe *Awāṇkārī*, not 'Lahnda'. References to *Awāṇkārī* here are based on an analysis of the words and texts included in *Lahnda phonology* (L.P.H.).

⁷ *LSI*, 408-76, briefly added to in *L.P.H.*, 18-17.

both culinary and nomenclature.¹⁰ In the northern tehsil of Attock, separated from Ghelī by the hills of the Kala Chitta Pahar, a rather different but quite closely related dialect-group is current, known either simply as 'Hindko', or by local names, of which the best known is Chachī. This dialect is not described in the *LSI*, although it is confusingly associated with *Sohāi*-Dhanūi and Peshawar Hindko in the category of 'North-Western Lahnda',¹¹ whereas its actual affinities are rather with the *Avāṇkārī*-Ghelī group. 'Hindko proper' may be suggested as a provisional title for this group of dialects.

(iii) *Hazara*. This area lies on the left bank of the Indus, with Abbottabad as its administrative centre. Its assignment to the NWFP, like that of Dera Ismail Khan, is a somewhat artificial consequence of imperial frontier policy, and only in the far west of the division are Pashto-speakers at all well represented.¹² The Hindko current in the tehsil of Haripur in the south of Abbottabad district is virtually identical with that of Attock tehsil, although it is similarly passed over by the *LSI*.

'Hindko' has a different connotation around and above Abbottabad, and in Mansehra district. Grierson assigned the dialects of northern Hazara to his 'North-Western Lahnda', but the evidence of both the *LSI* itself and of Bailey's separate account,¹³ not to mention the most cursory first-hand acquaintance with local speech, make it obvious that Grierson's linking of them with the Dhanūi group is quite artificial, and is made plausible only by his lack of material for Attock-Haripur Hindko, which is consequently assigned to the wrong group. This northern Hindko may be omitted from further discussion here.

(iv) *Kohat*. Here the great majority of the inhabitants, unlike those of the districts so far described, are Pashto-speaking. The local variety of Hindko, known also as *Kohāṭī*, is confined to Kohat City and to a number of villages situated along the road which runs east to Khushālgarh on the Indus. Kohāṭī is fairly well described in the *LSI*,¹⁴ where it is correctly grouped with *Avāṇkārī* and Ghelī, i.e. as a member of our 'Hindko proper'. Its place within this group is indicated in the detailed description which follows in section 2 below.

(v) *Peshawar*. The sociolinguistic profile of Peshawar Hindko is very similar to that of Kohat, although it is drawn on a larger scale.¹⁵ While Pashto-speakers constitute a majority of the inhabitants of the district, sharply separated from Kohat by the tribal territory of the Kohat hills, Peshawar itself, the capital city of the NWFP, contains a high percentage of Hindko-speakers, who are also to be found in a number of villages along the Grand

¹⁰ The *Avāṇkārī* is due to Grierson's artificial grouping of these dialects with *Polohārī*, which actually is spoken in the north-east. But *Polohārī* is distinguished by so many features (briefly summarized in *L.P.H.*, 18-19) that it must be classified quite separately.

¹¹ *LSI*, 408.

¹² D. Dichter, *The North-West Frontier of West Pakistan*, Oxford, 1967, 73 provides a map of tribal distribution and linguistic allegiance.

¹³ *LSI*, 565-65, and the useful description of *Kāṅṅānī* in T. G. Bailey, *Linguistic studies from the Himalayas* (London, 1915, 87-112).

¹⁴ *LSI*, 458-67, which includes an interesting local account of the distribution of languages by tribe.

¹⁵ The expression is deliberately vague, since—as the census-takers of British India repeatedly admitted in their reports—the complex patterns of dialects and bilingualism in the NWFP make even approximate enumerations of language-speakers difficult to arrive at. On the basis of the 1961 figures (the 1972 census omits all language figures) it might be hazarded that there are upwards of 30,000 native speakers of Kohatī, perhaps more than ten times that number of speakers of Peshawar Hindko.

Trunk Road running east through Nowshera to Attock. Peshawar Hindko has been cultivated as a vehicle for literature to a greater degree than the other northern dialects so far considered, and it is beginning to be promoted as a NWP standard Hindko.¹⁸

There is a short and rather poor account of Peshawar Hindko in the *LSJ*,¹⁹ where it is assigned to the category of 'North-Western Lahnda'. This assignment is again made even superficially plausible only by the mistaken classification of Attock-Hariapur Hindko. Peshawar Hindko has in fact so many individual features, as will be shown in the description in section 3 below, that it is best treated as forming a separate group of its own, at the same taxonomic level as the group we have termed 'Hindko proper'.

We may now summarize the classifications so far suggested, and introduce the abbreviations which will subsequently be employed. Features which characterize all members of the group termed 'Hindko proper' are described as Hko. These members are Awāṅkari (Aw.), with Bahri's sub-dialects distinguished where necessary as Pākiri (Av.p.), Reshi (Av.r.), and Vanādhī (Av.v.); Ghebi (Ghe.); the Hindko of Attock and Hariapur tehsils (Att.); and the Hindko of Kohat (Ko.). These are collectively distinguished from Peshawar Hindko (Pe.). Other groups referred to are Dhanī (Dha.) and Pojohāri (Po.), while more distant standards are the Siraiki of Multan (Sir.) and the central Panjabi of the Lahore area (P.).²⁰ In Grierson's terms Hko., Pe., Dha., and Po. are all varieties of 'Northern Lahnda', grouped with Sir., his 'Southern Lahnda', against P. The distribution of common features is not such, however, as to make it seem necessary to recognize these categories in the present context. There are, on the other hand, a great many features common to all or most of the six groups we have mentioned (Hko., Pe., Dha., Po., Sir., P.). Such features, described here as 'Common Panjabi' (CP.), are either taken as given or used as starting-points for the discussion of individual features of a particular dialect or group.

The emphasis of the descriptions is on points of phonology and—more particularly—morphology, since CP. features are here less prominent than in the area of syntax. Ko. is described first, in the context of what is known of other members of the Hko. group. This overall picture of Hko. is a necessary preliminary of the later description of Pe. The frame of reference is almost exclusively Indo-Aryan throughout, since this provides a perfectly satisfactory basis for the description and explanation of the features selected here. Only minimal reference is accordingly made to Pashto.

2. THE HINDKO OF KOHAT

The Ko. of Kohat City is taken as the standard. The position of Ko. seems to have been seriously weakened since 1947, as the result of the departure of non-Muslim Ko.-speakers and their replacement by speakers of Pashto.

¹⁸ I have examined some of the implications of this and related developments in 'Language, dialect, and local identity in Northern Pakistan', a paper to be published in the proceedings of the colloquium on 'Pakistan in its 4th decade', organized by the Deutsche Orient-Institut, Hamburg, in May 1980.

¹⁹ *LSJ*, 554–564.

²⁰ Other language-names are abbreviated according to the system used in *CDIAL*, together with Urdu (U). Forms of the older language of the *Jidi Granth* are cited as *AO*; salient features of the morphology are summarized in C. Shackle, 'South-Western "elements" in the language of the *Jidi Granth*', *DSO*, 15, xi, 1, 1977, 36–50.

also seems to be spreading amongst long-settled Pathan families whose first language was formerly Ko. There are still fair numbers of Ko.-speakers, some groups of which have Persian as a home-language, but bilingualism with Pashto appears to be general. Ko. has no tradition of literary cultivation.¹⁹

Phonology

Bahri's description of Av. phonology, based primarily on the major sub-dialect Av.v., is to be taken as typical of Hko., including Ko. (Kohati).²⁰

The most noteworthy feature is the presence of a single tone, the high-falling. This arises from a post-vocalic historical *h* or voiced aspirate stop or sonorant. Thus Ko. has *rā* 'way' (Pers. *rāh*), *āda* 'half' (< *ardha-*), *āma* 'blind' (< *andha-*). Pre-tonic aspirates are preserved as such, without tonal effect, so Ko. has 'one', *bhra* 'brother'. This tonal pattern of Hko. is shared only by Dha.

The fricatives *z* and *ʃ* (and, more marginally, *ʒ*) are preserved in Iranian loans, and are frequent as positionally conditioned variants, typically in pre-consonantal contexts, thus Ko. *saxda* 'saying' versus *akha* 'said'. This characteristic of all forms of Indo-Aryan along the Indo-Iranian frontier becomes weaker as one moves eastward from Hko.²¹

Other typical features of Hko. present in Ko. include the frequent presence of 'spontaneous' aspiration, e.g. *hik* 'one' (< **hika-*), *baccha* 'good' (< *accha-*), and the preservation of *tr* as an initial cluster, e.g. *trav* 'three' (< *trigāh*), *troth* 'break' (< *trigāh*). Finally, however, the cluster is broken by the typical Hko. epenthetic vowel, which is *u*, so *puttar* 'son' (< *putra-*), *nidur* 'sleep' (< *nidra-*). This vowel is generalized in post-accentual closed syllables, whatever the type or origin of the word, e.g. in proper names like *razmak* 'Razmak', in disyllabic verbal stems like *niktol* 'go out' (< **nikṣalati*), or Arābo-Persian loans like *hakumat* 'government' (< *hukūma*).

Features distinguishing Ko. from Av. appear mostly to be held in common with Ghe., although the picture is somewhat obscured by the incomplete accounts available for the latter.²² Ko. certainly agrees with Ghe. in lacking a retroflex *l* (as a phoneme distinct from the alveolar *l*) as a descendant of earlier *ḷ*, but the status of retroflex *l* in Av. itself is uncertain.²³ In the treatment of historical *-m(a)*, however, there is a clear distinction between Ko. and Ghe., which have *-ā-* where Av. and Att. often have *-ṣ-*. Examples

¹⁹ The only text I have seen is the pair of couplets by 'Aziz Akhtar Varisi' cited in Farigh Hukair, loc. cit., 250.

²⁰ In order to provide a reasonable basis for comparison the transcription here follows the system used in *SLCP*, with the addition of the circumflex to mark the high-falling tone. Conversion from Bahri's system is normally straightforward, except that my transcription does not distinguish *ā* as an unstressed allophone of *a*, although it does differentiate positional variants of diphthongs beginning with front vowels, e.g. accented *ia* and *ea* versus post-accentual *ia* and *ya*, cf. *SLCP*, 14–16.

²¹ cf. *LPh*, 13 and Varma, art. cit., on Dha.

²² The word is used with some hesitation, but regressive vowel-harmony from the *āp*-stem, nom. sg., *a* looks the likeliest point of origin.

²³ This of course makes it impossible to form an idea of the internal consistency of Ghe., but cf. *LPh*, 10–17.

²⁴ Bahri describes *l* as 'a very important and peculiar sound in Awāṅkari', *LPh*, 110–17, but does not transcribe it in his text. It is certainly clear that the maintenance of *l*, at least outside the west-central P. area, is occasional only, and that there is no need to follow Grierson in attaching much importance to this feature as a major dialectal allophone.

are *kō. dā. ten* '(< *dāz*, Pl. *dahā*), *zān* 'to live' (< *zānān*-), and *šār* 'city' (Pers. *šahr*), where *šr.* has *dā*, but *zān* and *šār*.

The mid-high vowels are historically the least stable members of the typical I-A 10-vowel system. Ko. apparently agrees with Ghe. in having the raised -æ- in pre-consonantal positions, where Ar. has CP. -ə-, thus Ko. *bəeg* 'sister', *mēla* 'my', *pēio* 'before', *vena* 'going', versus Ar. *bisat*, *māda*, *pāio*, *vena*. Finl. -æ does occur in weak positions, but strong monosyllables have -ae-. The corresponding rounded vowel appears as the diphthong -ao- in all positions.

Finally, two features appear to distinguish *Ko.* within *Hko.* The first is regular loss of nasalization in final rounded vowels. The clearest instance is the common abl. sg. termination, *Ko.* -o versus other *Hko.* -ō, similarly *Ko.* -u 'you', versus ū elsewhere. It is tempting to suggest the influence of Pashto, which lacks nasalization, especially since this is one of the very few distinctive features of *Ko.* to be shared by *Pe.* Nasalization is not, however, lost from other final peripheral vowels, where it often marks morphemic distinctions.

In two words only there is a peculiar phonetic realization of historical *-j-*, preserved elsewhere. This is most easily phonemized as *-i-*, although the articulation is very tight, approaching *-y-*.²⁵ The sound occurs only in Ko. ai 'today' (< *aij*ai), and the verb 'to go', as in *vi*ie 'let him go' (< **wrijait*), versus common Hko. ai, *va*ie. This isolated development, perhaps simply to be explained as the result of lax pronunciation of very high-frequency words, is not found in other words with historical *-j-*, so Ko. tai *ke* 'sated' (< **rijai*ai), etc., as elsewhere.

Yours

CP inflexions are the norm, with the basic distinction between extended masc. nouns₃ with dir. sg. -a, obl. sg. and dir. pl. -e, obl. pl. -ya, unextended masc. nouns with dir. sg. = pl. and obl. pl. -ā, and fem. nouns with dir. and obl. pl. -ā. Loss of nasalization in the Kc. obl. sg. -o is taken as a consequence of a general phonetic rule.

Extension of the *sg.* obl. of unextended masc. and of fem. nouns is the main feature which here distinguishes Hko., Dha. and Po. from other groups, which lack extension and have obl. *sg.* = dir. *sg.* There are three classes of such extensions.

(i) *nouns of relationship*. The characteristic Hko. extension in the obl. sg. is -u. Ko. follows the Hko. norm in the masc. bhra, bhraa 'brother', and the fem. ma, maan 'mother', dhi, dhiu 'daughter', then, bheau 'sister', sas, sasau 'mother-in-law', and nanaa, nanaa 'daughter-in-law', but Ko. pee 'father' remains unchanged in the obl. sg., like ghee 'phee', where other dialects of Hko. have the change pee, pin.

(ii) *other unextended masc.* The typical Hko, extension is -e, and this is certainly present in Kō, as in *pottor* 'son', *obl. potre*. Unextended forms are

²² cf. *SLEP*, 13, 10-17.

¹⁰ It seems best to avoid disturbing the CP rule which forbids gemination of *y* (and *h*, cf. *SICP*, 57, and to accept the inelegance which results from *vil-*, *vil-* versus *pi-*, *pi-* (with regular *-v-*), since the inf. *vayyala* would conflict with the rule of simplification of geminates shown by *dass-*, *dass-*. A sound phonetically similar to that in *Ko*, cf. *vil-* is found in *Sir*, *llo*, an equally isolated form (*SICP*, 52).

also heard, however, and it is not clear precisely what criteria determine extension.²⁷

(iii) *other unextended fem.* Extension elsewhere in Hko. is determined by the type of declension in an earlier historical period. Fem. nouns of the *a*-declension normally add *-a* in Av., *-ā* in Att., but this feature is absent in Kō., thus Hko. *nider* 'sleep' (< *nīdrā*), Av. *nīdra* na 'of sleep', Att. *nīdā* na, versus Kō. *nīdor* na. But Kō. does regularly preserve the common Hko. extension of nouns of the *i*-declension, which is *-i*, thus Kō. *akh* 'eye' (< *akri*), versus Av. *axi* 'of the eye', pl. *akhiā*, similarly Kō. *masi* 'mosque' (Ar. *masjid*, Akkhi na 'of the mosque', pl. *akhiā*, similarly Kō. *masi* 'mosque' (Ar. *masjid*, cf. Av. *masiti*), *masi* re 'in the mosque'. The loss of the distinctive *-i* pl. of *i*-stems apparent in Kō. *akhiā* is a feature shared with Att., perhaps also Ghe., whereas Av. does preserve some pl. forms with regular *-i* (though it too is less conservative in this than Str.), thus Av. *šea* 'thing' (Ar. *šay*), pl. *šai*, versus Kō. *šai*, pl. *šaiā*. This is another indication of the levelling of distinctions in Kō. of the kind which might be expected in a peripheral area.

The adjectival decision follows that of the extended nouns. The only comment called for is the observation that Ko. fully preserves the CP. pattern/structure of concord, with fem. pl. nouns having fem. pl. modifiers.

Propositions

Grierson treated the possessive postposition as the main subinbleth of his groups of 'North-Eastern' and 'North-Western' Lahnda dialects. Hko. na agrees with Po., against Dha., Pe. da, but the distinction is not a very interesting one, since it coincides with so few other points of contrast. Ko. naturally agrees with the rest of Hko. here, also in the lack of a postposition marking the agentive.²² The abl. postpositions to and kōl show the typical Ko. loss of nasalization.

The most interesting postposition is that which marks the dat.-acc., whereas there is no CP. form. P. *nā* (Aḡ. *no*, *nat*) and Sir. *kā* account for large areas, but there is a considerable variety in the north-west. The distribution is very confused, Dha. following P. with *nā*, also enclitic *-n*, while K-forms (presumably related historically) appear as Po. *kā*, with *ko* found in Av.p. and Av.t., as well as far to the north in Kāḡāni.

The characteristic Hko. dat.-acc. marker is \bar{a} (< ?), found in Av.V., Av.IV. (alongside ko), Ghe., and Att. Kō, also has \bar{a} , but avoids the awkward succession of identical vowels which results from the fact that the CP. obl. pl. termination is also \bar{a} by using ko with pl. nouns, thus poktor has sg. obl. pokte, dat.-acc. pokre \bar{a} , but obl. pl. poktrā, dat.-acc. poktrā ko. This may be contrasted with Att. obl. pl. poktā, dat.-acc. poktā: with an overlong vowel. It is unclear to what extent this specialization of markers is a distinctive innovation of Kō,²⁹ but this type of development, in which an anomalous phonetic feature is removed, is consistent with the status of Kō as a border-dialect.

²⁷ An analysis of the texts in *LPh* reveals the preference for extension in agentive and locative uses, which would be expected on the basis of the other locative -i, -et, but this preference certainly does not constitute any absolute rule. Parallel use of extended and unextended forms was also observed in the speech of Ko informants.

39 Bahri's notation putiḥ-ā should perhaps be taken to represent an overlong vowel, but some *ci*-initial sub-dialects may have *ko* with pl. nouns.

Numerals

For the first ten cardinals Kō. has *bik* (emphatic *bikka* 'just one'), *da*, *traē*, *car*, *pañ*, *chē*, *sat*, *añ*, *nao*, *dā*: this set shows no significant deviation from the usual Hko. forms. The collectives *daorē* 'both', *traevare* 'all three', *carvare* 'all four' are noteworthy: the second element may be compared with the Sir. multiplicative *tyora*, etc. (< *trye*). The ordinal *pañā* 'first', versus Av., Att. *pēla*, shows the usual Kō. raising of *-e-*, and has been affected by the ordinal suffix (< *-ama-*).

Pronouns

The personal pronouns distinguish dir., obl., and possessive:

| | 1 sg. | 2 sg. | 1 pl. | 2 pl. |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| dir. | maē | tu | asi | tośi |
| obl. | maē | tōd | asā | tośā |
| poss. | mēda | tēda | añda | tođda |

The dir. and obl. forms are of the common Hko. type.

The poss. forms are more interesting. Kō. *mēda* shows the usual raising from Av., Att. *mēda*, although the sub-dialect of Bili Tang has *māda*, a form apparently without congeners in the cis-Indus dialects. Similarly, Kō. *tēda* is a raised version of Av., Att. *tēda*, while the Bili Tang sub-dialect has *tōda*, the standard type (also *tađda*) of most other Hko. dialects. The pl. poss. forms *añda* and *tođda*, apparently the result of severe contraction, are shared with Ghe. alone: Av., Att. *asrida*, *tosrida*, while Av., Att. has *asā na*, *tośā na*.

The dat.-acc. of the personal pronouns is formed in all groups by the addition of the dat.-acc. marker to the obl., typically with loss of nasalization in the stem, thus P. *mēnā*, Dha. *mēn*, Sir. *mekū*, Po. *miki* 'me'. The majority of Hko. dialects, with dat.-acc. marker *ā*, show contractions, with 1 sg. *mā*, 2 sg. *tēda*, Ghe. *toā*, 1 pl. *asā*, 2 pl. *tośā*. Thus in the pl. forms the distinction from the obl. (normally used only for the agentive in the ergative construction) is marked purely by the tonal shift. Kō., however, has a simpler way of distinguishing the dat.-acc., by using *ā* with the obl. of the poss., thus *māde ā*, *tēde ā*, *adde ā*, *tođde ā*, thereby aligning the dat.-acc. with other positional forms, like the 'abl.' *mēge kolo* 'from me', etc. This is an interesting structural innovation, which seems to be unique in the entire CP. area.

The demonstratives *e*, *o*, used also as 3rd person pronouns, follow the common Hko. pattern of inflexion. The remote demonstrative has the following forms:

| | dir. | obl. | poss. | dat.-acc. |
|-----|------|------|--------|-----------|
| sg. | o | os | osna | osā |
| pl. | on | onā | onā na | onā ko |

The dat.-acc. pl. follows the Kō. rule of having *ko* after *-ā*. The dir. pl. is also characteristic of Av. and Ghe., while Att. follows all other groups in having dir. pl. = sg.: *on* is perhaps to be explained as a back-formation from the obl. stem. The proximate demonstrative is *e*, dir. pl. *in*, with *r*-throughout. The emphatic demonstratives *ūa*, *ēa* are invariable in the dir., with obl. sg. *use*, *ise*. These are common Hko. forms.

30 Dialectal distribution within Av. is shown on the map in L.P., 25.

The interrogative is *kon* (< *koh punar*), perhaps shared with Ghe., versus Av., Att. *kor* (< *ko 'mirib*). It has the usual similarity of inflexion with the relative *jo*, thus obl. sg. *kis*, *is*. The poss. is formed either from the obl., as *kisna*, *isna*, or by analogy with the sg. personal pronouns, as *kēda*, *jēda*, corresponding to Av., Att. *kēda*, *jēda*. The dat.-acc. is formed either on the usual Hko. pattern, as *kisā*, *isā*, or after the peculiar Kō. personal pronouns, as *kēde ā*, *jēde ā*.

The neuter interrogative is the standard Hko. *ke* 'what?'. The indefinite is *koi*, obl. *kise*, with neuter *kōj* 'something'. The reflexive is *ap*, with poss. *apā*.

Pronominals mostly follow CP. norms, with the usual prominence of the pair *kera* and *jera*. The two basic adjectival sets, expressing relations of quantity and quality, are noteworthy:

| | | | |
|-------|-------|------|-------|
| iti | otti | itti | katti |
| hiñji | hoñji | jēji | kēji |

These make no change for gender or number, so *itti vadda jā* 'such a big city', *kēji ranañ* 'what sort of women?'. The derivation of the first set (< *iyatāka*, etc.) is clear enough, and similar invariable forms are common in trans-Indus Sir. The second set is clearly related to the adverbial set *in* (*hiñji*) 'in this way', etc., which is attested for Av., Dha., and is of doubtful origin. It is not clear whether the Kō. set is found in other dialects.³¹

The adverbials are less interesting. Standard (city) Kō. has *kittne* 'where?', like the usual Hko. *itthe* 'here', while the Bili Tang sub-dialect has *kattne* for the interrogative, also characteristic of Av., P., Av., Att. The Kō. abl. forms are *ittho*, *kitttho*, etc., without nasalization. The other common set *idder*, *kidder*, etc., has the usual post-tonic *-o-* of Hko.

Verbal stems

The core-set of the commonest verbal stems is characteristically Hko., including such distinctive items as *āji* 'sit' (< *adhyāste*), *khal* 'stand', *hag* 'be able to',³² as well as others common to Sir. also, like *ghinn* 'take', *thi* 'become', *po* 'lie', and the phonetically peculiar *vli* 'go'. The most significant structural consequence of this choice of stems is the absence of stems with the final vowel *-e-*, whose marginal status in Kō. has already been remarked on. Disyllabic stems have the regular Hko. *-o-* in the second syllable throughout, except before vocalic terminations.

There are the usual pairs of intransitive and transitive roots with centralized and peripheral vowels respectively, and causal stems are formed in the usual way, by the addition of accented *-a-* to the simple stem, which is thereby weakened by loss of vowel-length or gemination. Passive stems with accented *-i-* are also found, but yield only pres. ptc., pres. subj., and fut. There is no pres.-fut. stem of the Sir. type, in which accented *-e-* is added to the simple stem to form a base for the pres. ptc. and fut. of most transitive consonant-stems, although this feature is characteristic of both Av. and Ghe., thus *kar* 'do' has pres. ptc. Av., Ghe. *ka'rena* (Sir. *ka'reda*), but Kō., Att. *karna*. Only

³¹ The CP. norm consists of compound derivatives of *yādyā*, e.g. P. *ajēa*, Sir. *ejhā*, etc., although the corresponding U. *asā* is also spreading.

³² Though *hag* is often substituted in the Kō. of Kohat City, apparently to avoid the embarrassing homophony with *hagg* 'defecate' (< **hagga*, cf. *CDIL* *haddat*).

the anomalous *vāi-* 'go' has the special pres.-fut. stem *ve-*, corresponding to Av. *vāi-*, *ve-*.²²

Non-finite verbal stems

The absolutive is identical with the stem, except for the loss of final gemination by general phonological rule. The only exception is *po-* 'he', where Ko. follows all other dialects with this stem, and has abs. *pe*. The abs. is extended by the usual *ke* to form the conjunctive ptc., so *pe ke* 'having him'. It is uncertain whether Ko. retains the conjunctive ptc. in -i.²³

The infinitive is formed by the addition of -*na* to the stem, with loss of gemination. By the widespread rule of CP, stems with final -*r* -*r* have the dental -*na*. The obl. of the inf. is -*ne* or -*na*. This appears in all contexts, i.e. before postpositions, as in *dasne vaste* 'in order to tell', including the special instance of the verbal agent, e.g. *bojne vāi* 'speaker', as well as in modal compounds of the type *karne lagga* 'began to do'. This last instance represents a levelling, since other Hko. dialects preserve -*an*, -*an* in this context.²⁴ The identity of form between inf. and gerundive in Ko., which has -*na*, -*na* for both, is however quite characteristic of Hko., where all dialects have lost the distinction between unextended inf. -*an* (AG. -*anu*) and extended gerundive -*na* (AG. -*and*) still retained in Sir.

The pres. ptc. is formed by the addition of masc. sg. -*na* to all stems, with the special *vena* 'going' from *vāi-*. The pres. ptc. of stems in -*r* -*r* is thus identical with the inf. in Ko., as in Att.²⁵ The -*na* termination, like the poss. postposition *na* a shibboleth of Gterson's 'North-Eastern Lahnda', is of course general in Hko.

The past ptc. is formed by the addition of masc. sg. -*a* to consonant-stems, e.g. *akha* 'said' (versus *aya* 'came'). This is a distinctive innovation of Hko., since Dha., Po., Sir., and P. all retain -*ya* (< -*ia*ka) after all stems. There is the usual abundance of anomalous forms, caused by the retention of historical past stems, whether of OIA origin or resulting from later analogical developments. Most have a retroflex or dental before the termination, the only instances which call for note here being *āj-* 'sit', past ptc. *ētha* (< *ājeṭha*), corresponding to Av. *āhe*, *ātha*, and *khāl-* 'stand', past ptc. *khāla*. The small vowel-class follows *gea* 'gone', past ptc. of *vāi-*, with masc. pl. *gae* (weak forms *gya*, *gæ*), fem. sg. *gai*, pl. *gaia*, similarly *pea* 'lain', past ptc. of *po-*, and *rea* 'remained', past ptc. of *rā-*. Other apparent irregularities are to be explained as the results of rules of morphophonemic adjustment, e.g. *bhāva* 'turned', past ptc. of *bhā-*.

The perfective ptc. is formed by adding to the past ptc. the distinctive Hko. *vea*, a peculiar development of CP, *boya* declined like *gea*, shared by Ko. with Av.-P. (versus Av.-V. *boya*), Ghe. and Att., so Ko. *ētha vea* 'seated'.

Stem-tenses

There are the usual four tenses formed by the addition of personal endings

²² Explained in *CDIAL* as derivatives of **erajai* and **erajai* respectively.

²³ For this ptc. in Sir., cf. *SICP*, 85, 129, 129-30. It is certainly found in Av. abs.: the derivation from *ph-* is exemplified in *Lahnda phonology*, 87.

²⁴ The original case of the inf. in this construction was not obl., but loc.-instr., cf. Att. *karai lagga*. *LSJ*, 430 does cite -*an* as well as -*na* with *lagga* for Ko., but I was unable to confirm this usage locally.

²⁵ Although not always in Av.-Ghe., which distinguish transitives as pres. ptc. *katena* versus inf. *katān*.

to the stem, i.e. simple imperative, aorist imperative, present subjunctive, and future.

The imperatives have forms for the 2nd person only:

| | simple | aorist |
|-------|-------------|-------------|
| 2 sg. | <i>kar</i> | <i>kari</i> |
| 2 pl. | <i>karo</i> | <i>karē</i> |

Only the aorist forms need comment. In the 2 sg. Ko. -*i* contrasts with Av.-Ghe. -*ē*, but the contrast is unremarkable in view of the alternation P. -*i* versus Sir. -*ē*. The peculiar 2 pl. -*ē*, with tonal shift, corresponds to Av. -*ē*, and appears outside Hko. as Sir. -*āhe*.

The terminations of the pres. subj. and fut. show the usual symmetry, broken only in the 3rd sg., with the fut. being distinguished by the sigmatic augment, which is one of the very few distinctive common features of all 'Lahnda' groups. The Ko. paradigm of these tenses is:

| | pres. subj. | fut. |
|-------|--------------|----------------|
| 1 sg. | <i>karā</i> | <i>karāṣ</i> |
| 2 sg. | <i>karē</i> | <i>karāṣ</i> |
| 3 sg. | <i>kare</i> | <i>karāṣi</i> |
| 1 pl. | <i>karā</i> | <i>karāṣ</i> |
| 2 pl. | <i>karo</i> | <i>karāṣo</i> |
| 3 pl. | <i>karon</i> | <i>karāṣon</i> |

There are usual adjustments to vowel-stems in the pres. subj., with vowel-sequences being avoided by -*v-*, whether historical or supplied by analogy, thus a- 'come', de- 'give', pi- 'drink', dho- 'wash', have 3 sg. ave, dāve, give, dhove. The anomalous *vāi-* 'go' has 3 sg. pres. subj. *vāie*, fut. *veṣi*.

The vowel of the 3 pl. is characteristic of Hko.²⁷ Otherwise, only the 1st person forms require comment. In the 1st sg. Ko. -*ā* is of course the CP. form, but perhaps represents a levelling within the Hko. group, where the 1 sg. pres. subj. appears as *karā* in Ghe., versus fut. *karāṣ*: the -*i* form is also attested for Av.-P., and appears to be a survival of a once much more widespread termination, to judge from the great frequency of AG. -*im*, hardly less common than -*āim*.

The 1 pl. -*ā* is universal in Hko., and is also found in Dha. and in Shalipuri to the south: it, too, may represent a formerly more widespread form, on the evidence of the regular AG. -*āimha*. The awkwardness of the tonal shift doubtless accounts for its replacement elsewhere, notably in P. -*ie*, transferred from the 3rd sg. pres. passive. The shift of accent entailed by the tone involves weakening of the root-vowel, but this weakening is less marked than in the formation of the causative and other derived stems, where the change of peripheral to central vowel is regular: this is to be attributed to the CP. preference for the maintenance of a single stem throughout the inflexional system. In Ko., as in other Hko. dialects, the shortening is most marked with back vowels, so mar- 'die' and mar- 'beat' have 1 sg. *marāṣ* and *marāṣ*, but converge in 1 pl. *marāṣ*.²⁸ Other vowels are maintained in quality, shortening being more

²⁷ It is to be explained as an instance of the generalization of post-accentual -*o-* (cf. note 22), i.e. as a derivative of -*amī*, not of -*am*.

²⁸ The ambiguity, while structurally interesting, is practically more apparent than real, since it may always be easily removed by use of modal intensives, e.g. *mar vāṣā* versus *mar dāṣā*.

evident than centralization, thus *piśā* 'we shall drink', rather than *piśā*. Disyllabic stems keep the characteristic *-o-* of the second syllable, so *nikolśā* 'we shall go out', *śamśā* 'we shall understand'. The treatment of the pres. subj. is analogous, the corresponding forms to those cited being *maśā*, *piśā*, but *nikā*, *śamā*.

The pres. subj. is used as a conditional with the addition of an invariable affix *hāa*. A corresponding form does not seem to be attested for other varieties of Hko., but the analogous Sir. *ha* makes it probable that Av. and Ghe. at least do possess such a form. The compound of pres. subj. with *hāa* is equivalent in usage to the CP. employment of the pres. ptc. alone as conditional, thus *o deve hāa* = *o dema* 'he would give'.

Substantive verb

This is confined to the usual pres. and past, other forms being supplied where necessary by *ho-* 'be'. The pres. has the CP. gradations, there being three sets. Weak forms are typically used as copula, or as auxiliary with participles to form periphrastic tenses, and are liable to elision with preceding vowels. Such sandhi is avoided in alternative *v-* forms, which represent a middle grade. Finally, there are strong forms, typically used in existential or emphatic contexts. The Ko. sets are entirely typical of Hko.:

| | weak | middle | strong |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1 sg. | ā | vā | hāvā |
| 2 sg. | ē | vē | hēvē |
| 3 sg. | o | vō | hōvō |
| 1 pl. | ā | vā | hāvā |
| 2 pl. | o | | hōvō |
| 3 pl. | oñ, -n | vōñ | hōvōñ |

There is no middle form for the 2 pl. The two weak forms of the 3 pl. occur after consonants and vowels respectively. The first element in the strong forms shows the usual Ko. raising, against Av. *hāvā*, etc.

The past distinguishes gender throughout:

| | masc. | fem. |
|-------|-------|------|
| 1 sg. | hēsā | haiā |
| 2 sg. | hēsā | haiē |
| 3 sg. | hēsā | hai |
| 1 pl. | hēsā | haiā |
| 2 pl. | hēsō | haiō |
| 3 pl. | hēs | haiā |

The base *hēs-* is reduced to *ha-* before front vowels by phonological rule. The pattern of inflexion is broadly characteristic not only of Hko. but also of Dha. and Śinhpūrī. The Ko. 2 sg. masc. *hēsā*, where one might expect *-ā* on the basis of the fem. and all other 2 sg. forms, is precisely paralleled by Att. 2 sg. masc. *ēā*, fem. *ēē*, versus Ghe. 2 sg. masc. *ēō*, fem. *ēē*.³⁹ The Ko. base presumably represents a metathesis,⁴⁰ like Sir. *ha-*, in contrast to the tonally

³⁹ The forms cited for Ghe. in *LSJ*, 480 are misreading: cf. also the Av.-p. and Av.-v. sets given in *LP*, 27.

⁴⁰ The original base in dh. (with *dh-* > *ē-*), explained by the *CDJIL* as derivative from *dhēdi* rather than *dhā*.

reduced Hko., Dha. *ē-*, Śinhpūrī *ā-*. It certainly avoids the complex sequences which result from the consonantally unsupported forms in other dialects, where elision in the periphrastic tenses leads to such sandhi-forms as Av.-v. *o ayāa* 'he had come', as against Ko. *o aya hēsā*.

Present tense

Of the tenses periphrastically formed with participle and auxiliary only the present, with its many elided forms, needs to be illustrated by a paradigm:

| | masc. | fem. |
|-------|-------|-------|
| 1 sg. | karnā | karnā |
| 2 sg. | karnā | karnā |
| 3 sg. | karnā | karnā |
| 1 pl. | karnā | karnā |
| 2 pl. | karnā | karnā |
| 3 pl. | karnā | karnā |

(Only the 1 sg. masc. regularly has a variant with the middle form of the substantive verb, as *karna vā*. The shortening of the vowel of the ptc. before 3 pl. *-n* is standard elsewhere in Hko., as is the avoidance of awkward vowel-sequences in the 1-2 pl. fem. by use of the sg. ptc. Forms of the 2-3 sg. represent a regularization following CP. norms when contrasted with the peculiar conjugation of other Hko. dialects. These have 2 sg. masc. *karnā* = 1 sg. (compare the Ko. 2 sg. past *hēsā*), 3 sg. *karna*: with overlong vowel.⁴¹

Elisions in the perfect follow those of the present, while the imperfect and pluperfect are of course not subject to elision, given the initial consonant of the Ko. past auxiliary.

Pronominal suffixes

As in all related dialects and groups, these suffixes are used only with certain finite verbal forms, most frequently the past ptc. and pres. substantive verb. The suffixes correspond in sense to an obl. pronoun as agentive, to a poss., or to a dat.-acc. pronoun indicating either possession or the direct object of the verb. Contact with Pushto does not seem to have encouraged any greater use of pronominal suffixes in Ko. than is typical of Hko. and other northern groups as a whole.

Like all members of these groups, Ko. lacks the distinctive suffixes corresponding to dir. pronouns present in Sir. and Sindhi.⁴² The Ko. set is further restricted by the lack of 1st person suffixes: a similar restriction is found in most, but not all dialects of Hko.⁴³

There are only three basic suffixes in Ko., 2 sg. *-i* (with positionally determined variants), 3 sg. *-ā*, and 2 pl. *-ne*. These are most frequently employed with the past ptc. to denote the agentive subject. The ptc. is subject to the usual rules of concord with the logical object, and possible forms are illustrated in the following paradigm of *kāsa* 'did', with suffixes:

⁴¹ Att. has also the fem. 2 pr. *karni*, 3 sg. *karni*, but Ghe. and Av. share the Ko. fem. form.

⁴² cf. *SLCP*, 101 T. for the Sir. dir. suffixes.

⁴³ Bahri cites Av. forms with 1 pl. *-so*, the standard Sir. suffix.

| | + 2 sg. | + 3 sg. | + 2-3 pl. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| musc. sg. <i>kita</i> | <i>kital</i> | <i>kitas</i> | <i>kita ne</i> |
| fem. sg. <i>kiti</i> | <i>kitta</i> | <i>kitts</i> | <i>kite ne</i> |
| musc. pl. <i>kite</i> | <i>kite nu</i> | <i>kitts</i> | <i>kite ne</i> |
| fem. pl. <i>kivā</i> | <i>kittā nu</i> | <i>kitts</i> | <i>kittā ne</i> |

The 2 sg. -a after -i is by CP. rule, but the pl. + 2 sg. -nu seems to be distinctive of Ko.

Weak and middle forms of the pres. substantive verb are encountered in the perfect, e.g. *pita (v)os* 'he has drunk', although the past ptc. alone may also indicate the perfect as in Pe. Strong forms are typically possessive in sense, i.e. *bevi* 'is yours', *beos* 'is his', *hene* 'is yours, theirs'. Past forms, on the pattern *baas i*, *beas*, *baas ne*, are also encountered, either as indicating possession or as auxiliaries marking the agent in the pluperfect.

The 3 sg. is frequent with the imperative, e.g. *maros* 'hit him!' (2 sg. = 2 pl.). The evidence of Pe. suggests that the 3 sg. is also used with other tenses, e.g. the present, but the only forms noted for Ko. are for the fut., viz. 1 sg. + 3 sg. *mar sās*, 2 sg. + 3 sg. *mar sēs*, and 1 sg. + 2 sg. *mar sāt*.

Other features

Ko. verbal compounds are similar in type to those described for Sir.⁴⁴ although the idiomatic compounds with the 'become' in Ko. *āi tni* 'sit down!', *khal tni* 'wait a minute!' deserve mention. Ko. has the usual western construction for the common continuous, i.e. of pres. or imperfect + *pea* (pva), variously ordered as *o kam karṇa pē*, *o kam pva karṇa*, *o pva kam karṇa* - he is working'. This construction does not yet seem to have been challenged by the expanding P. type *o kam kar tyā* (U. *vo kam kar zha hā*).

The most notable peculiarity of Ko. syntax is the use of the dat.-acc. for the logical subject in constructions with the gerundive, following U. rather than the CP. agentive. Thus Ko. *mēde ā vānā* 'I have to go' formally parallels U. *mojhe jana hā*, versus P. *mē jānē*, Sir. *mē vānē*. The Ko. construction may be modelled on the other common construction exemplified by Ko. *mēde ā vānā cānā* 'I ought to go', where the dat.-acc. is of course the CP. norm.

It is in its vocabulary that Ko. shows its chief divergences from Hko. norms, owing to the influence of Pashto. Most of the Pashto loans used in Ko. are nouns, and it is not directly relevant to our present purpose to attempt any listing of such items here.⁴⁵ A notably common loan is the sentence-final *kana* (< Pashto *kane*), used in place of Hko. *na* 'nest-ce pas?'. Most core-items are characteristically Hko. This has already been exemplified by the commonest verbal stems listed above, and is further confirmed by such high-frequency words as the adverbs *vāt* 'then', *bāt* 'very' (versus P. *ter*, *bē*).

3. THE HINDKO OF PESHAWAR

While our initial survey drew attention to a broad similarity of type between the local distributions of Ko. and Pe., it is the latter which is both demon-

⁴⁴ *SLCP*, 120 ff.

⁴⁵ The illustrative passages given in *LSI*, 462-7 provide examples. The subject is well worth exploring, but could only be dealt with properly by one more competent in Pashto than the present writer.

straphically and culturally the better-established. Not only is its rural base more extensive, but the language of the city too, again taken as standard, has better withstood the effects of the creation of Pakistan in 1947, which led to the departure of non-Muslim speakers of Pe. and their replacement by Pashto-speakers and other groups attracted by the important economic and political status of Peshawar. Although Pashto has certainly gained ground at the expense of Pe. in recent years, it has been well said of the latter that 'it is only through this speech that you enter into the real life of the city'.⁴⁶

Peshawar is indeed the only urban centre of the region which deserves to be described as a city, and Pe. (*pīshāwri*) displays the typical features of a city-speech. The most prominent characteristic of its internal composition is the width of its dialectal base; this is naturally quite consistent with Peshawar's historical and continuing importance as a centre of trade and communication. The linguistic study of dialect has a tendency to encourage the view that 'purity' is to be sought in the dialects of settled rural communities, while the converse attitude to urban speech is well captured in the tone of Grierson's remark that 'the mixture of languages is so great that some, not without reason, describe this form of Hindko, known locally as Peshāwari, as a mongrel product of city life'.⁴⁷ The city-dwellers themselves naturally take a different view, and regard their Pe. as the most evolved and sophisticated form of 'Hindko'.⁴⁸

The constituent elements of Pe. certainly need to be discussed in a wide linguistic context, and the outline description offered here will seek to account for these in terms not only of Hko. and other northern groups, but of P. and U. also. City Pe. is nevertheless a fairly uniform standard, variations within which are the product of differences in status, principally of age and education. There can be few monolingual speakers. Some groups have Pers. as a home language.⁴⁹ Command of Pashto is increasingly general, while all educated speakers are also fluent in U. The Pe. of younger speakers, especially those with higher education, tends to contain a marked proportion of partially assimilated elements, especially from U. and P.⁵⁰

The language of Pe.-speaking villages near the city, where many of the villagers commute to work, shows minor differences only from the less sophisticated varieties of urban speech.⁵¹ There is, however, at least one important rural dialect of Pe. which does show some significant differences from the city standard. This is the dialect spoken in the large group of Pe.-speaking villages known as the Tappa Khālsā, a tract lying along the (strand) Trunk Road east of Peshawar in the direction of Nowshera: this

⁴⁶ Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Peshawar, historic city of the Frontier*, Peshawar, 1969, 104.

⁴⁷ *LSI*, 554.

⁴⁸ The claim is supported in Pe. literary circles by reference to the tradition of verse composition in Pe., attracted for the last 500 years, and now being continued in the beginnings of a modern literature, besides being used in a few programmes broadcast by Peshawar radio and television stations; for details cf. Farigh Bukhārī, loc. cit.

⁴⁹ Raza Hamdani, ed., *Sift-ā-Ahmad 'alf Pīshāwri*, Islamabad, 1977, 11: 'While Persian-speakers are scattered throughout the Frontier province, they are found in greatest numbers in Peshawar and Kohat. They are called *girānān*, and include the Qizilbāsh, Kābuli, Durrāni, Shāh-zādān, and some Durrāni tribes who migrated to Peshawar during the Russian revolution.'

⁵⁰ A similar influence has been operating over the last generation on the Sir. of such cities as Multan, cf. *SLCP*, 2-3.

⁵¹ Such is the consensus of local opinion: I found it to be borne out by a visit to the village of Chitā Chāpur.

dialect is sometimes termed *Kūāshavi* (Kha.), and some differences from the standard are noted below.²²

Phonology

The overall pattern, in both inventory and distribution, is similar in most respects to the Hko. pattern described by Bahri.²³ There is, however, a very important difference in the tonal system, where Pe. seems to have evolved a compromise between the patterns typical of Hko. and of P.

Hko. and P. agree in their treatment of a post-vocalic historical *h* or voiced aspirate, i.e. the *h* or the aspiration is lost, and the vowel has the high-falling tone. The Pe. treatment is identical with that in Ko., so Pe. also has *rā* 'way', *āda* 'half', *āna* 'blind'.

Pre-tonic historical aspiration is, however, subject to divergent realizations. In Hko., as was described for Ko., the aspiration is retained as such.²⁴ But in P. the aspiration is typically lost in favour of the low-rising tone, which is usually preceded by a slight glottal constriction, here written as *ʔ*. Treatment of the historical aspirate varies according to context, i.e. *h* is preserved initially but lost medially, voiced aspirated sonants simply lose aspiration in all positions, and voiced aspirated obstruents lose aspiration in all positions, and voicing as well in initial position only.²⁵ Pe. closely follows P., except that the tone is not low-rising, but high-falling, although still preceded by glottal constriction. There is also some levelling of the positional treatment of different classes of aspirate, i.e. initial *h* may be lost, especially in the speech of older Pe.-speakers, and obstruents are devoiced medially as well as initially.²⁶ The typical realizations in different contexts in Hko., P., and Pe. are most easily understood from concrete examples:

| | Sk. | Hko. | P. | Pe. |
|------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| h- | <i>hāra-</i> | <i>hār</i> | <i>hār (h'ār)</i> | <i>hār (h'ār, 'ār)</i> |
| -h- | <i>kāhānaka-</i> | <i>ka'hāni</i> | <i>kā'ni</i> | <i>kā'ni</i> |
| nh- | <i>śūṇṇagati</i> | <i>nāve</i> | <i>nā've</i> | <i>nā've</i> |
| -nh- | <i>anḍikāra-</i> | <i>(hā'nera)</i> | <i>an'ēra</i> | <i>an'ēra</i> |
| dh- | <i>dhūṇi-</i> | <i>dhī</i> | <i>dhī</i> | <i>dhī</i> |
| -dh- | <i>(vūṇḍagati)</i> | <i>vā'dhai</i> | <i>vād'hi</i> | <i>vā'thi</i> |

It would seem best to distinguish the Pe. high-falling tone with glottal constriction, correctly realized by native speakers as a major shibboleth,²⁷ as a

²² These were noted on a visit to Wad Jurga and some surrounding villages. I have no information on more distant rural varieties of Pe., though Alt. features might well be more prominent towards the east. Razi Hamdani, loc. cit., summarizes the distribution of Pe. as being 'in the Vale of Peshawar, Peshawar itself and a number of nearby villages, such as the Tappa Khālsā; and in Nowshera tehsil, Akharpura, Nowshera Kalan, Akora Khattak and a number of neighbouring villages'.

²³ Elahi Bakht Akhtar Awan, *The phonology of the verbal phrase in Hindko*, University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1974 (unpublished), is a minute study of a restricted corpus, of interest both for its phonetic analysis and as the work of a native Pe.-speaker.

²⁴ Similarly in Dha., cf. Siddhaswar Varma, loc. cit. Pe. follows P. having a low-rising tone, but the phonetic realization (with marked emphasis of the rising fall in the post-tonic syllable) is quite distinctive. Neither group provides a parallel to the peculiar evolution of Pe.

²⁵ This is the usual analysis, although the following glottal constriction obscures the loss of voicing.

²⁶ cf. Shukhār 'Al Noyyar, *Hindko naṣar di kādān*, Peshawar, 1963, 34-42, where much is made of its importance as a marker distinguishing Pe. from P.

tone separate from the simple high-falling tone. This is necessary if phonemic distinctions are to be drawn between such minimal sets as Pe. *bār* 'outside' (= Hko., P.: < *bāhira-), *bār* 'spring' (Hko. *bā'har*, P. *bār*: Pers. *bahār*), and *pār* 'load' (Hko. *bhar*, P. *pār*: < *bhāra-), since it would be awkward to establish 'as a phoneme in itself'.²⁷ Pe. may thus be regarded as a two-tone group within CP, structurally on a par with P. in this respect.²⁸

In other respects similarities with Hko. are more pronounced. There is the usual western preference for fricatives in place of medial and final obstruents, e.g. Pe. *vaṣat* 'time' (Ar. *ṣaḡḡ*), *māḡal* 'swallow' (< *māḡalī), *saṣab* 'reason' (Ar. *ṣabab*), *māḡar* 'country' (Ar. *māḡ*), though the influence of U. acts to restrain this tendency in the educated treatment of Ar. and Pers. loans. The loss of the obstruent in a medial cluster with a sibilant is a widespread western feature in such loans as *naḡik* 'near' (Pers. *naḡīk*), *māḡar* 'wages' (Pers. *māḡarī*), but Pe. also has a unique set of pronominal possessives following the pattern of *uza* 'his' (< *uza* < *us da*), cf. Pe. *vaṣe* 'for', besides *vaste*.

Pe. has the Hko. feature of spontaneous aspiration in such words as *bik* 'one', *haḡcha* 'good', *bik'āla* 'alone' (< **ek'āla*). Initial *r* is preserved in a few words, like *tra* 'three', but Pe. often simplifies with P., also having *tra* 'three' and regularly *tet*, *toḡ* 'male'. Final clusters are typically broken by the usual Hko. -*u*-, as in *poḡtor* 'son', but the preference for -*o*- over P. -*a*- (-*a*-) is less marked in the language of younger speakers. A preceding rounded vowel encourages the choice of -*u*-, so typically Pe. *soḡar* 'red' (Pers. *savkh*), but *saḡoz* ~ *saḡaz* 'green' (Pers. *saḡz*). Otherwise the rule of generalization in post-accented closed syllables applies, as in Ko. Pe. has no retroflex *ɻ* as a phoneme distinct from alveolar *l*.²⁹

The vowel-system resembles that of most Hko. dialects and related groups. Pe. has as a fully independent phoneme, not subject to raising as in Ko. The status of *ae* is strengthened by the appearance of *ae* < -*ah(a)*-, as in Pe. *rēṇa* 'to live', *ṣār* 'city', cf. also the common honorific *ṣāb* (< Ar. *ṣāhib*); but the vowel is lowered in the stems of the sg. personal pronouns, e.g. *manu* 'to me', versus dir. *māḡ* (and P. *māḡ*), and the famous green tea of Peshawar is called *kāva* (< Ar. *qahva*). The corresponding rounded vowel appears as the diphthong *ao*, although a few words have *o* from historical *au*, notably *kon* 'who?' (< *kaḡ pumar*) and *gon* 'song' (ult. < *gōṇagati*).

There is regular correspondence between Pe. -*i*- and Hko. -*e*- as the first member of accented diphthongs in monosyllables, whatever their origin. Thus Pe. has *di* 'father', *kīo* 'glue', and the past ptc. set *giā* 'went', *piā* 'fell', *ṣiā* 'remained', versus Ko. *peo*, *eheo*, *ṣeo*, *pea*, *ṣea*. There are also a few

²⁷ Noyyar's adaptation of the U. alphabet to Pe., followed by several other writers, records 'no *h*' without the subscript *shokha*, but does not record the tone as such, i.e. graphic *bār* represents *bār*, but *bār* may represent either *bār* or *bār*.

²⁸ It is this structural similarity which needs to be underlined in the context of CP, where so much discussion has been devoted to the aspirate-derivat tones. Phonetically, of course, it is the contrast with P. which is striking, particularly in secondary features associated with the tones such as the lengthened vowel associated with the P. low-rising tone, versus the shortening that characterizes the high-falling tone everywhere, including the special Pe. tone with glottal constriction.

²⁹ Although the retroflex *ɻ* is of course distinct from *l*. Arguments over how best to shew a sign in the U. script for Pe. *l* have distracted attention from the more difficult problems of writing the tones, the main candidates being the *ṣiṣ*, *nūn* with superscript *ṣe*, Noyyar's *re* with superscript dot and *ṣe*, and the combination *nūn* + *ṣe* suggested in *Sābir Hussain Imtād*, *Hindko nūṣarī kāḡ*: *ṣe* *ṣe* *ṣe*, Peshawar, 1973.

³⁰ P. is similar to Ko.-Hko., with the short vowel *y*, i.e. *pyō*, *kyā*, etc. It is tempting to compare the Pe. preference for final -*i* versus CP. -*e* in emphatic forms of the pronoun.

interesting alterations of vowel-quantity in individual words, notably *Pe. hua* 'now' versus *CP. hōa* (< *āhūnā*), *kār* 'house' versus *Hko. šhar*, *P. kār*, and the postpositional variants *nal* 'with', *vaste* 'for', common in both speech and writing for *nal* and *vaste* ~ *vase*.⁴¹

As already noted, one of the few distinctive features held in common by *Pe.* with *Ko.* is the rule by which nasalization is regularly lost from final rounded vowels, so *Pe.* too has *tu* 'you', and unnasalized -o as the abl. sg. termination. Nasalization is liable to be lost from other vowels also in weak contexts, e.g. the adverbative enclitic *Pe. la* (ta) versus *CP. tā*. The peculiar *Pe. pronominal adjective apra* ~ *apra* 'own', versus *CP. apra* (< **āmanāka*, *Pr. āpmanāka*), is to be classed as a special instance of the loss of nasalization (from *a* as phonetic *ŋ*).

Nouns

City *Pe.* closely follows the declensional pattern of *P.* There is no use of extension to mark the obl. sg., although extended loc. forms of the *P.* type occur as specialized historical survivals, e.g. *Pe. dine* 'tomorrow', *kāre* 'at home', *kōppe* 'in the sun' (< **dhippā*), *rai* 'at night'. Again as in *P.*, there is no distinction of fem. i-stems with pl.-i, thus *Pe. akhri* 'eye', with extension in the dir. sg. also, pl. *akhriā*, and *šāe* 'thing', pl. *šāyā*. Nasalization is of course lost in the abl. sg., e.g. *Pe. k'aro* 'from the house' versus *P. k'ārō*, also from the loc. pl. encountered in such set phrases as *pari parā* 'to fall at the feet of' versus *P. pari*.

But *Kha.*, and perhaps some other village dialects, do have obl. sg. extensions of the *Hko.* type described for *Ko.*, including the special treatment of nouns of relationship, with obl. sg. -u.

The adjectival declension follows that of the extended nouns, as usual, but full fem. pl. concord is not always preserved in the *Pe.* of the city. Thus *nili akhriā* besides *niliā akhriā* 'blue eyes', where the fem. sg. modifier suggests the influence of the regular *U.* concord of *nili akhri*.

Postpositions

The possessive postposition is *da* in city *Pe.* When taken in conjunction with the clat.-acc. marker *na* and the regular agentive marker *ne*, this suggests alignment with *P.* Grierson was at all events mistaken in attaching such importance to the possessive postposition in his internal classification of 'Northern Lahnda', since city *Pe. da* contrasts with *Kha. na*, once again shared with *Hko.*⁴²

The most distinctive *Pe.* postposition is the abl. *si* 'from' (< *sama* -?), suggesting *U. se* rather than *Ko. to*, *P. tō*. Abl. postpositions are subject to the usual loss of nasalization, including *co* 'from' in *P. cō*, abl. of *c* ~ *se* ~ *vie* 'in'. The variants *nal* ~ *nal* 'with' and *vasta* ~ *vase* ~ *vaste* 'for' have already been noted. Another interesting by-form, apparently unattested elsewhere, is the extended *takol* 'up to', used besides the *P., U. lak* and the western *torl*.

⁴¹ The back quality of *Pe. a* helps account for the alternation *a* ~ *ā*: *vaste* has also been noted for *Ko.*

⁴² But *Kha.* appears to agree with city *Pe.* in the other common postpositions.

Numerals

The first ten cardinals are rather mixed in type: *hik, do, tre* ~ *tin, car, pañ, chē, sat, āth, nāo, das*. Substitutions from *P. unī U.*, as in *tin* and *das*, are encountered in the higher numbers also. The only locally published description of *Pe.* gives *U. ones* '49', but *pañā* '50', *ikvañā* '51', etc. While *Kha.* has the *Hko.* emphatic *bikra* 'just one', city *Pe.* prefers the re-emphasized *bikrā*, often reduced in speech to *bikri*: these forms are analogous with those of the emphatic demonstratives. The *Pe.* collectives exhibit the usual mixtures, rather than distinctive forms of the *Ko.* type, thus *dovā* ~ *dono* 'both', *trēvā* ~ *trano* 'all three', and thereafter *caro, pañjo, chēo*, etc., recalling *U.* rather than *P.* Similarly, the lower ordinals are *pañā, dasra, tisra, caotha*.

Pronouns

The personal pronouns are closer to *P.* than to any other group, but have several interesting forms:

| | 1 sg. | 2 sg. | 1 pl. | 2 pl. |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| dir. | mē | tu | asi | toi |
| ag. | māe | lane | sade | toane ~ soane |
| dat.-acc. | manu | lanu | sacu | toanu ~ soanu |
| poss. | mera | tera | sāda | toāda ~ soāda |

Pe. mā-, *la-* correspond to the *P.* bases *mā-*, *lā-*, which are occasionally heard in *Pe.* also, generally in emphatic contexts, like other variants with gemination, i.e. *mane* ~ *manne* for *mane*. Tone is apparently absent in 2 pl. *toane*, etc., although it is of course historically justified, cf. *P. toānu, Sir. toānu*. The alternant inflected forms of the 2 pl. with *soa-* tend to be reserved for more formal contexts, and imply a greater degree of respect: they seem to be unique to *Pe.*⁴³

The most interesting feature of the *Pe.* paradigms is the distinction of the agentive by integral forms with -*ne*. While *ne* is general in *P.*, it is not used with the personal pronouns, which have obl. as agentive, as in *Hko., Sir.* (where *ne* is anyway absent). The *Pe.* forms, a famous Shibboleth, thus represent an isolated development, presumably to be compared with *U. mē ne*, etc. A consequence of this regular marking of the ag. is that *Pe.* lacks a true obl., so that pronouns in apposition must follow the case of the following noun phrase, e.g. *toane pakistānā ne, toade pakistānā de* 'by, of you Pakistanis', where *P.* would have obl. *toānā*. Nor does *Pe.* possess an integral abl. on the pattern of *P. mēthō, tēthō*, etc.: *Pe.* has only *mere si* (mere *kolo*).

The demonstratives are less remarkable. The remote demonstrative *o* has the following forms:

| | dir. | obl. | ag. | dat.-acc. | poss. |
|-----|------|------|------------|------------|-----------------|
| sg. | o | os | osne ~ one | osnu ~ onu | osā ~ oza ~ oda |
| pl. | o | oñā | oñā ne | oñā nu | oñā ā |

⁴³ Mukhar 'All Nayer. *Hindko garvā* [written in *Pe.*], Peshawar, 1976, 70. Such peculiar mixtures are in fact quite characteristic of educated *Pe.* speech, where the alternative possibility *oñā* '49' is considered vulgar, and *umānye* '99' is similarly preferred to *durnye*.

⁴⁴ Their origin is doubtful, though one might postulate **sūhā* < **sūhā-*, on the basis of the loss of aspirate-derived *h* in the corresponding *P.* forms. There is no *s*-form for the dir.

Alternant forms of the marked cases are to be regarded as reductions from historical */s*-stems.⁴⁵ The sandhi-form *ozza* (< *ozda* < *osda*) is a common colloquial variant in city Pe., which does not seem to be found in other groups. It is naturally also lacking in Kha., where the possessive marker is *na*. There is no trace of the distinctive Hko. dir. pl. *on*. The proximate demonstrative is *o* (village Pe. also *i*), with *i*-throughout.

For the emphatic demonstratives Pe. has re-emphasis of the usual Hko. forms in *-a*, with *ovva*, *rvva*, often reduced in speech to *ovva*, *rvva*. The obl. sg. forms are *osi*, *isi*, where the *i* agrees with *U*, rather than Hko., *P. -e* (< *Ap. -aŋ*).

The interrogative is *kaŋ*, like the neuter *ke* a characteristic Hko. form. But the inflexion, which has the usual similarity to that of the relative *jo*, precisely follows that of the demonstratives, and hence is rather of the *P.* type with alternations in the dat.-acc. sg. *krsu* ~ *kru* 'to whom?' and poss. *krsda* ~ *krsda* ~ *krsda* 'whose?'.

The indefinite pronoun is *ko*, with obl. *kisi*, not *kise*, and neuter *kij*. The reflexive pronoun is *ap*, with adverbial and emphatic *api* 'by oneself', with the usual change of vowel from CP. *ape*. The normal possessive is *apa* ~ *apa*, with peculiar loss of nasalization, though *apa* (< *U*) is also heard. The loc. pl. is usually expressed with the poss., as *ape* *re* 'among themselves', etc., with an alternant *apos* *re*, which is probably a calque on *U. apos* *me*.⁴⁶

Sets of pronominal adjectives are mostly unremarkable, with *kera* 'who?', which?; *jera* 'which', and the quantity-set *ita*, *kima*, etc. The quantity-set is formed in the CP. fashion with compound derivatives of *gudjda*. The base is the postposition *ja* 'like', with the characteristic Pe. vowel-contrast with *P. jêa*, and the forms have the usual alternations in the pronominal element, thus *is ja* ~ *jia* 'like this', *ira ja* ~ *kija* 'like what?', etc. A parallel compound is *hika ja* 'of the same kind'.

The adverbials are of the CP. type, with the characteristic Hko. centralized vowels *i*-, *o*- in the demonstrative members, e.g. *itthe* 'here', *idor* ~ *idâr* 'here, hither' (also *idor*). Abl. forms have the usual loss of nasalization, as in *kitho* 'whence?', also strengthened as *kitho* *si*.⁴⁷ Nasalization is also lost in the temporal set *tado* 'then', *jado* 'when', *kado* 'when?', but is exceptionally normally retained in the monosyllabic *kiô* 'why?'. Other sets are formed from the pronouns with nouns, the commonest types being liable to regular contraction, e.g. *istârê* > *istâ* 'in this way'.

Verbal stems

The core-set of common stems is quite uncharacteristic of Hko., but very close to *P.* Thus *Pe.* has *ja*- 'go', versus Hko. *vadi*-, etc., and generalizes *ho*- to include uses reserved to *thi*- 'become' in most Hko. dialects. Similarly, *Pe.* has *beath*- (*be-*) 'sit', *cal* 'move', *la-* 'take', *pa-* 'lie', for Hko. *âij*-, *tor*-, *ghun*-, *po*-. The most important structural consequence is that stems in

⁴⁵ So, while the vowel is characteristic of Hko., the stem-alternation brings *iv* into line rather with *P.*, where *pos*, *osda*, regularly written *uŋi* in Gurumukhi, alternates with colloquial *ôda* (i.e. < *uŋdi*, *ôŋdi*).

⁴⁶ Other simple pronominals do not inflect in any distinctive fashion, e.g. *hor* 'other' has *Pe.* obl. pl. *hor*, without the characteristic CP. *-n* (*U*), etc. *hor* *na*. For 'all' *Pe.* shares the Hko. preference for *sata* over *P. sâh*. *Sir. sâh* (where the pronominal declension is again typical).

⁴⁷ An interesting contrast to *P.*, where **kithô* *is* is hardly likely.

-sa, subject to special modification in conjugation, are well established in *Pe.*, where the city language also has *ke-* 'say', versus village and Kbu. *akb-*.

The only common derived stems are the usual causatives. Passive stems have the accent on the extension *-i* as in Hko., but their use seems to be restricted to a few semi-deponents as in *P.*, e.g. *Pe. sa* 'dina' 'to be called', *kavida* 'being said'. There is no verb with a distinctive *pres-fut.* stem.

Non-finite verbal forms

These show the usual compromise between Hko. and *P.* patterns. The absolutive is identical with the stem, the conjunctive ptc. adding the usual *ke*. There seems to be no connective ptc. in *-i*.

The inf. is formed as in *Ko.*, with *-na*, or *-na* after stems with final *-r* or *-g*, and is identical with the gerundive. The obl. inf. is also as in *Ko.*, always *-ne* or *-ne*, adding *vata* for the verbal agent. The *P.* treatment of stems in *-a*, reflecting an historical *-v*, is not followed, so *Pe. apa* 'to come' versus *P. ona* (AG. *avayad*).⁴⁸

The *pres. ptc.* is formed by the addition of *masc. sg. -da* to all stems, implying the usual nasalization of vowel-stems, but without reflexes of historical *-v*, thus *Pe. âda* 'coming' versus *P. âda* (AG. *âvayad*). The termination is even less useful as a dialectal classifier than the possessive *da*, since apart from *Kha.*, with predictable *pres. ptc. -na* throughout, city *Pe.* also follows colloquial *P.* in having a second ptc. in *-na*, used in some personal forms of the present tense. These are illustrated below, in the section dealing with the periphrastic tenses.

The past ptc. is of the Hko. type, with *masc. sg. -a* after consonant-stems. Anomalous historical forms are quite well represented, but there is a greater tendency towards regularization than elsewhere, perhaps under the influence of *U.*, e.g. *Pe. khaya* besides *khada* 'eaten', past ptc. of *kha-*, also *soya* besides *sotta* 'slept', corresponding to alternant use of the stems *so-* and *sad-*. The vowel-class corresponding to *Ko. eea*, etc., is inflected as in *Ko.*, but has the distinctive *Pe. -i* in the *masc. sg.*, thus *Pe. gis* 'went' (weak form *gis*), past ptc. of *ja-*, *jia* 'lain', past ptc. of *pa-*, *ria* 'remained', past ptc. of *re-*, also *kia* 'said', past ptc. of *ke-*. While *la-* 'take' also belongs to this class in *P.*, *Pe.* has past ptc. *litta* 'taken', analogous with CP. *ditta* 'given'.

The perfective ptc. is formed by the addition of *oya* to the past ptc. The full form *hoya* is often written, but is less characteristic of *Pe.* speech.

Stem-tenses

There are the usual four tenses. The imperatives are:

| | simple | orist |
|-------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 2 sg. | <i>kar</i> | <i>kari</i> ~ <i>kari</i> |
| 2 pl. | <i>karo</i> | <i>karyo</i> |

The *orist* follows *P.*, with the usual *Pe.* weakening or loss of nasalization in the sg.

The *pres. subj.* needs to be illustrated for vowel-stems also, since these are liable to adjustments. Paradigms are therefore given also for *ja-* 'go', *pl-*

⁴⁸ *-v* is also retained, as such, in *Ohe.*, which has *avya* (versus *pres. ptc. ana*).

'drink', as well as *re-* 'remain', showing the particular changes to which all stems in *-ae* are subject in *Pe.*, as in *P.*:

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1 sg. | <i>karē</i> | <i>javā</i> | <i>pirā</i> | <i>rāvā</i> |
| 2 sg. | <i>karē</i> | <i>javē</i> | <i>pirē</i> | <i>rāvē</i> |
| 3 sg. | <i>karē</i> | <i>javē</i> | <i>pirē</i> | <i>rāvē</i> |
| 1 pl. | <i>karī</i> | <i>javā</i> | <i>pirā</i> | <i>rāvā</i> |
| 2 pl. | <i>karō</i> | <i>javō ~ jao</i> | <i>pirō ~ pio</i> | <i>rāvō ~ rāo</i> |
| 3 pl. | <i>karon</i> | <i>javon</i> | <i>piron</i> | <i>rāvon</i> |

Alternants of the 2 pl. are in free variation, except that stems in *-o* regularly have *-v*. The 3 pl. regularly has the *Hko.* *-o-* in all varieties of *Pe.*⁶⁹

Only the 1 pl. is remarkable. *Pe.* *-iē* avoids the tonal shift of *Hko.* *-ī*, and is clearly cognate with the *P.* pres. subj. 1 pl. *-ie*, which has been shifted from the 3 sg. pres. passive, so *Pe. karē, P. karī* 'let us do' (< *AG. karīdā* 'it is to be done').⁷⁰ The separate origin of the 1 pl. is suggested further by the absence of *-v* after vowel-stems, even those in *-i*.⁷¹ The nasalization, exceptionally present in *Pe.* but not in *P.*, is to be explained as being due to analogy with other 1st person forms.⁷²

There is no conditional affix used with the pres. subj. in *Pe.*, corresponding to *Ko. hae*. The conditional can therefore only be expressed by the pres. ptc. used without auxiliary.⁷³

The standard fut. of *Pe.* is of the *Hko.* sigmatic type:

| | | | |
|-------|---------------|-------|----------------|
| 1 sg. | <i>karisē</i> | 1 pl. | <i>karisē</i> |
| 2 sg. | <i>karisē</i> | 2 pl. | <i>karison</i> |
| 3 sg. | <i>karisē</i> | 3 pl. | <i>karison</i> |

The only noteworthy feature is the preservation of symmetry with the pres. subj. in the termination of the 1 pl.⁷⁴ In the speech of younger city-dwellers sigmatic forms are liable to substitution by forms in *-ga* of the *P.* and *U.* type, e.g. 3 sg. masc. *kariga*, fem. *karigē*, besides the usual *karisē*.

Substantive verb

Pe. has the usual three sets in the pres. Forms are practically identical with those given for *Ko.*, except that the base of the strong forms is *hae*, thus *Pe.* 3 sg. weak *a*, middle *ve*, strong *haeve*, similarly 3 pl. *on ~ -n*, *von*, *haevon* (also *haen*).

⁶⁹ Also in the fut. 3 pl., where the vowel of *māra* in the paradigm given in *LSJ*, *hāvō* is quite misleading.

⁷⁰ The transference of sense may be compared with the development, in a different direction, of the *U.* polite imperative in *-iē*.

⁷¹ As against the regular appearance of *-v* in the 2 sg. aorist imperatives *javī*, *pirī*, *rāvī*. The similar *P.* pattern is exemplified in the paradigm in H. S. Gill and H. A. Gleason, *A reference grammar of Punjabi*, 2nd ed., Patiala, 1908, 22-8.

⁷² Particularly 1 sg. *-ā*, which is also found in the 1 pl. form of the *Pe.* substantive verb, the parallel with *U.* 1 pl. *-ā* should perhaps be pointed out.

⁷³ In written texts, especially in verse, 2 sg. forms in *-ō* (*-ō*) are occasionally met with, e.g. *je tu khāō* 'if you had eaten'. These may be compared with the similar forms cited for the *P.* of Warshabai in T. F. Cummings and I. G. Bailey, *Punjabi manual and grammar*, Calcutta, 1925, 373-81. As in this variety of *P.*, simple past forms used in conditional clauses may also have this ending in *Pe.*, e.g. *agor tu jē gō* 'if you win'. This may be the explanation of the 2 sg. *gēd* cited as a simple past form for *Ko.* in *LSJ*, 401.

⁷⁴ Such asymmetry is general in groups with a sigmatic fut., e.g. *Hko.* *-ā*, *-ā*, *Sir.* *-ā*, *-ā* : but *P.* has 1 pl. fut. *karigō* versus pres. subj. *karī*.

There is also a negative pres. of the substantive verb, which inflects only for gender and number, as masc. sg. *niga*, pl. *niga*, fem. sg. *nigē*, pl. *nigā*. These forms are peculiar to *Pe.*,⁷⁵ although the pattern of reinforcement, of the negative *nī* 'not' by the emphatic *-ga*, is paralleled by the *P.* positive forms *haega* 'is', *siga* 'was'. It seems possible that the *Pe.* development of a special negative may have been encouraged by Pashto *nishā*. Certainly *niga* is similarly restricted in use, being employed either as a copula, e.g. *e pāthan nige* 'they are not Pāthans', or—especially frequently—as a negative existential verb, e.g. *is ic koi šak niga* 'there is no doubt about this'. Typically, therefore, *niga* corresponds to the strong positive set, as illustrated in *xōdā dātar ic der ta haeva magor an'ar nigē* 'I'll go' 'though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small'. It follows that *niga* is not normally used as an auxiliary verb, where weak and middle forms are usual: but *niga* may appear in emphatic contexts, e.g. *koi mane corai ta nigē* 'I've well, I haven't stolen any'.

The standard past of *Pe.* is of a clearly *Hko.* type, with distinction of gender as well as person and number. Full forms may be represented as:

| | | |
|-------|----------------|------------|
| | masc. | fem. |
| 1 sg. | <i>āš</i> | <i>āš</i> |
| 2 sg. | <i>āš</i> | <i>āš</i> |
| 3 sg. | <i>āš ~ āi</i> | <i>āi</i> |
| 1 pl. | <i>āš ~ āe</i> | <i>āiā</i> |
| 2 pl. | <i>āō</i> | <i>āio</i> |
| 3 pl. | <i>āe</i> | <i>āiā</i> |

There is some levelling of the irregularities found in most *Hko.* dialects, notably in the 2 sg. masc. The generalization of 3 sg. fem. *āi* for masc. also is quite common in urban speech.⁷⁶ All forms are liable to reduction (including regular loss of the tone) in weak positions, notably when used as an auxiliary verb. The negative is with *nī*, as *nī āš*, cf. *P. nāi si*, versus *Ko. nahaea*, *Sir. naha*.

In city *Pe.* there is another form of the past, which follows the simpler *P.* type, and is especially frequently used by younger speakers:⁷⁷

| | | |
|-------|------------|------------|
| | <i>P.</i> | <i>Pe.</i> |
| 1 sg. | <i>āš</i> | <i>āš</i> |
| 2 sg. | <i>āš</i> | <i>āš</i> |
| 3 sg. | <i>āi</i> | <i>āi</i> |
| 1 pl. | <i>āš</i> | <i>āš</i> |
| 2 pl. | <i>āō</i> | <i>āō</i> |
| 3 pl. | <i>āan</i> | <i>āon</i> |

⁷⁵ Although a famous Shibboleth of *Pe.*, it is not mentioned by Grierson, whose statement in *LSJ*, 555 that 'there is a negative verb substantive *nigāl*, I am not equivalent to the Standard *nigāš*' is quite misleading. *Pe. niga* is different in both origin and function from the *Sir.* negative pres. discussed in *SLCP*, 107.

⁷⁶ Reference is to pages of Shukla's 'All Nigayur, *Y'wāš* (*hinda zūbū* 'amāš'), Peshawar, 1974. The limitations of the script (cf. note 67) make phonetic transcription more appropriate than exact transliteration here and in quotations below.

⁷⁷ There is an exact parallel in *Sir.*, where 3 sg. fem. *hai* is often also used for masc. *hā*.

⁷⁸ The *si*-past is often felt to be 'wrong' in *Pe.*, and is criticized by Nigayur, *Hinda zūbū*, 71, on the grounds that it leads to confusion with the fut. *-āi*. Of course, it is just those speakers who favour the *si*-past who will prefer fut. forms in *-ega*. This is an interesting case of structural adjustment.

The alternations of the vowels of the 2 sg., 2 pl., and 3 pl. bring the Pe. forms into conformity with the weak forms of the pres., 2, o, on.

Periphrastic tenses

The present tense, formed with pres. ptc. and pres. substantive verb as auxiliary, has the usual extensive elisions:

| | masc. | fem. |
|-------|-------|-------|
| 1 sg. | karnā | karnā |
| 2 sg. | karnā | karnā |
| 3 sg. | karnā | karnā |
| 1 pl. | karnā | karnā |
| 2 pl. | karnā | karnā |
| 3 pl. | karnā | karnā |

The elided terminations are similar to those of Ko. Pe. 1 sg. masc. also has the regular middle-form variant *karna vā*, and the sg. ptc. is used to form the 1-2 pl. fem. The vowel in the 3 pl. is always short, but in quality sometimes approaches *karnā*, *karnān*.

The most remarkable feature of the Pe. present is, of course, the use of a ptc. in -na to form the 1 sg., 2 sg., and 1 pl. This is exactly the pattern found in spoken P., although formal and written P. styles have -da throughout. Again as in P., Pe. normally has -da throughout in negative forms, with the usual dropping of the auxiliary, so 1 sg. masc. *mā nī karda*.

In the imperfect, the ptc. is regularly in -da for all persons.⁷² Contracted forms occur in rapid speech, but are less standard than in the present, so 3 sg. masc. *karda mā ~ kardāa*. Such contractions are naturally avoided by use of the second form of the past auxiliary, as *karda si*.

Contractions in the perfect and pluperfect follow the patterns outlined for the present and imperfect.

Pronominal suffixes

As in Hko. and related groups, including western varieties of P.,⁷³ these are used only with certain finite verbal forms, most frequently the past ptc. and pres. substantive verb. There are no dir. suffixes, and uses correspond in sense to an ag., dat.-acc., or poss. pronoun in nearly all instances, although the 2nd person suffixes sometimes have only a loose vocative sense.

Pe. has the typical Hko. set 2 sg. -i, 3 sg. -a, and 2 pl. = 3 pl. -ne. Formations are generally as noted for Ko., with 2 sg. usually -a after fem. sg. -i (although there does not seem to be a form used with pl. past ptc. corresponding to Ko. -nu), and with vowels regularly weakened before -a, the commonest suffix, but preserved before -ne.

The most straightforward uses of the suffixes are with the stem-tenses. The most frequent of these is with the imperative, e.g. *rēne dās* 'let it be', pl. *rēne dās*, mātās 'hit him!' (2 sg. and 2 pl.). The 3 sg. pres. subj. is used with 2 sg. suffix in such phrases as *xar hōrī* 'may all be well with you', and also

⁷² The rule is not absolute, however. Nayyar, op. cit., 51, gives -da throughout in his paradigm of the imperfect, but elsewhere also writes forms with -na, e.g. *asī jās sakās* 1110.

⁷³ Bailey's account is still the best; see Cummings and Bailey, op. cit., 210-60.

occurs with 2 sg., as in *hūn nē dōs kīt ke āla kām vīe baktō pātēs* 1181 'they prayed that God might bless him in his task'. The usual combinations with fut. 1 sg. are found, especially with the sg. suffixes, i.e. *khasā* 'I will eat you', *khasās* 'I will eat it' (with pl., *khasā nē*), while the most frequent combination is that of 3 sg. + 3 sg., as in *roī sīr vāl zārur pāl hōs* 1151 'the bread will certainly be lying near his pillow', *sātōr fōt jās* 1158 'her purdah will be broken'.

The very common use of suffixes with the pres. substantive verb is rather less straightforward, except in the case of the strong forms *hāvī*, *hāvō*, *hāvōn*. In the weak forms, the verbal base is regularly lost, so that i, -a, ne alone appear, as in *yār dōst dā ke hāl* 11171 'how is your friend?', *choīfīs* 'he is on holiday', pl. *choīfī nē*. Since there is no distinctive base-vowel marking the addition of suffixes to the past ptc. as past,⁷⁴ it follows that there is no clear distinction between simple past and perfect when these appear with suffixes. So *khasās* may represent either simple past or perfect once *khasāa*, although distinction of the latter may occasionally be marked by the use of middle forms, i.e. *khasā vos*. Some examples may be cited to show the ambiguity of tense as well as the variety of senses as indicated by the suffixes: (2 sg.) *e ke kar dītāi* 1168 'what is this you have done?', *pōtōr roī kha jītīs* 1163 'son, did you eat the bread?', *kīō p'āhi pāand ās* 11114 'well, sister-in-law, did you like her?', *mākhi bī māt hōs* 1168 'have you ever killed even a fly?', (3 sg.) *hīk dātā hīk vār hōr kītās* 11114 'she struck once again', *hīk admi pāsād āyās* 11104 'one man pleased him', *dī rōyāl āyās* 11103 'the thought entered his heart', (2 pl.) *jās nāl nēd kīt nē* 11103 'whoever you have done good to', *ās kāvōn, o mākhatī ās nē* 11147 'then they would say, "hey, the good-for-nothing has come (I tell you)"', (3 pl.) *āpī c sālā kīt nē* 11119 'they took counsel among themselves'.

Use of the pres. tense with suffixes also implies the shortest forms of the latter, e.g. 1 sg. + 2 sg. *kēnāi*, + 3 sg. *kēnās*. The commonest combination is of 3 sg. + 3 sg., as in *dīl nī dōkhas* 11159 'his heart is not pained', *jād āndāsā hō jādās* 11127 'when it realises', *mā pāl zār o katar rōīs* 1138 'the mother is weeping for him bitterly'. Conditional forms are identical,⁷⁵ so *āgōr āpī hōās* 11159 'if it were one's own'. This formal ambiguity parallels that between simple past and perfect when used with suffixes.

Only the 2sg form of the past substantive verb takes the suffixes, with 3 sg. + 3 sg. masc. *āsās*, fem. *āsīs* being the commonest instances. Both existential and auxiliary uses occur, e.g. *dōst dōrā bāt ās* 1151 'he had plenty of worldly goods', *hār jār rō kōhīn ās* 1163 'he had houses in every city', *bār pānānē dā tāirōba hūn pīr hōās ās* 11137 'but only now was he getting the experiences of a gutter'.

Finally, suffixes are used with the distinctive Pe. negative pres. *nīās*. The 3 sg. suffix is again the commonest, e.g. *jōk sāmīdē ās ke āpī nīās* 11159 'people used to think, "it isn't his own"'.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ As opposed to the Sir. -ō-, so + 3 sg. *kīōs ~ kīōsī*, + 1 pl. *kīōsē*, etc. The lack of such stems seems to be a general Hko. feature, no judge from the evidence of Bahī's text. It is not, however, characteristic of the western P. described by Bailey, who clearly states (p. 356), 'To express the simple past with a suffix we must use the -o form or the pluperfect. The ordinary past is followed by a suffix, has the force of a present perfect'.

⁷⁵ No attempt is made to distinguish these formally, since little would be added to the scheme of transformations suggested in *SLCP*, 150-3.
⁷⁶ At least in the commonest instance of the 3 sg., although there is of course a theoretical distinction elsewhere between conditional -dās and pres. -nā. e.g. 1 sg. *āgōr māt kīdās* 'if I were to tell him', versus *māt kēnās* 'I tell him'.

Pe. normally has the usual western construction for the continuous, i.e. of pres. or imperative + *gia* (pres.), usually ordered as *o pia jāda ~ o jāda pia*, e.g. *baṣarteke kam de piche sacai de jāda pia thāih mada hove* 'on condition that the work should continue to be inspired by the passion for truth', *vakot pia zae kardyo* 'you are wasting your time'.⁴¹ The order *o jāda pia* suggests the interrogative sense 'is he going then?'.⁴² This type of continuous construction is, however, coming under challenge from the P. and U. construction, so that city Pe., especially that of younger speakers, tends to substitute *o ja rie* for 'he is going'.⁴³

Other syntactic features present few apparent deviations from CP. norms. Pe., unlike Ko., has the agentive with gerundive and copula, e.g. *mane baṭot kṛt kam karne* 'I have plenty of work to do', where only the special Pe. ag. pronoun is distinctive. Pe. also has the P. habitual construction of 'gerund', regularly derived from the stem, thus *sacā zabur ho jāva karai* 'I39 'we shall always know about it', *sanda tēṛāṭ kara kar* 'I39 'make sure you are careful in future', versus the irregular past ptc. *gia* 'went', *kita* 'did',⁴⁴

The vocabulary of Pe. is of predictably mixed character. Pashto loans, again mostly nouns, lie outside our present scope, and are anyway certainly less prominent than in Ko. The test case of the commonest verbal stems has already indicated the tendency of Pe. to agree with P. against Hko.,⁴⁵ and there are many other instances among commonly used items, e.g. Pe. *ṛ* and 'mother', Pe. *baṭ*, P. *bat* 'very', versus Hko. *ma*, *bān*. There are of course a good many counter-examples also, e.g. Pe. *Hko. grīṭ* 'village', *vaṭ* 'then', versus P. *ṛ*, *ṛ*. Instances where Pe. stands alone are the most interesting but also the least numerous, e.g. Pe. *baṭa* 'tell, show', recalling U. *bate*, versus P. *Hko. dās*, or the extension in Pe. *aiṭa* 'still, yet', versus P. *aṭe*, Hko. *aiṭon*: attention has already been drawn to such major shibboleths of Pe. as *si* 'from', *niga* 'is not'. A less impressionistic survey must await the appearance of an adequate dictionary.⁴⁶

Conclusions

Even the summary description of Pe. presented here will have made it apparent that it possesses many features of peculiar interest. We may conclude by touching very briefly on some of the wider issues which these raise within the context of Indo-Aryan, to which the discussion has throughout been deliberately confined.

The internal taxonomy of NIA tends to be thought of in the rather simple terms which provide the necessary framework for such majestic surveys of the whole field as the *ISI* and *CDIAL*, where the continuum of local dialects is

⁴¹ Quoted from Nayyar, *Hindko nagur di takhānī*, 8, 10.

⁴² cf. Nayyar, *Hindko nagur di takhānī*, 60-70.

⁴³ The construction is also spreading to Sir., cf. *SLCP*, 123.

⁴⁴ This is to be contrasted with Sir., which uses the ordinary past ptc. with *kar* (*SLCP*, 123). The position in Hko. is perhaps similar.

⁴⁵ Of course Hko. itself has many P. loans, as is made admirably clear for Av. by Bahari in *Lahndi phonology*, 120 ff.

⁴⁶ An unpublished dictionary of 12,000 words has been prepared by Nayyar with the title *Khasān*.

classified into sets of regional groupings, which are in turn related to the literary standards. Most varieties of NIA are, it is true, quite easily accommodated within such a scheme, with the inevitable adjustments to suit local circumstances.⁴⁷ Ko. is an obvious case in point. Our earlier description showed that it is to be taken with the dialects spoken in adjacent areas, and to be classified within them in the group we have termed Hko. The individual features of Ko. within that group are for the most part readily explained as typical characteristics of a border dialect, e.g. the tendency towards levelling and regularization.

By whatever criterion is adopted—whether it be numbers of speakers, range of use, or proportion of individual features—the standard Pe. of Peshawar city is demonstrably more important than Ko. If the conventional taxonomy can only partially accommodate Pe., as 'a mongrel product of city life', this suggests a serious weakness in both coverage and understanding of NIA. Better descriptions of urban languages are certainly needed, but so too is a recognition of their important special status *vis-à-vis* other varieties of language, demanding their separate categorization.

Pe. is only to be understood as a member of this category, even if its conventionally isolated position has made it possible to treat it here on a par with such regional dialect-groups as Hko. and P. Pe. certainly demonstrates the magnetism of urban languages, the process by which common features are passed along major lines of communication and cause the language of one city to resemble that of another while each is surrounded by markedly different rural dialects. The frequently noted instances of agreement by Pe. and P. are only to be explained by the linkage of Peshawar along the line of the Grand Trunk Road with Lahore and the towns of the northern Panjab. This supposition is supported by the instances which have been cited of the current intrusion of further P. features into the speech of younger Pe. speakers.

Like all extreme cases, though, Pe. is all the more interesting for not being entirely typical. Since Pe. is the last outpost of NIA to the north-west, the pattern of influence is simpler than for most cities, from which lines of communication radiate in all directions. Pe. is also of course peculiar in being isolated in the non-IA linguistic territory of Pashto. Such rural base as it can be said to possess is itself apparently the product of relatively recent immigration,⁴⁸ and it is not to be compared straightforwardly with the usual NIA pattern of an urban speech surrounded by quite closely related village dialects. Finally, Pe. is distinguished from such superficially similar urban outliers of NIA as the Dakhni Urdu of Hyderabad by not being linked to a directly related literary standard.⁴⁹ The situation is in fact reversed, with Pe. itself furnishing an incipient literary standard for the different varieties of NWFP 'Hindko'.

⁴⁷ The problems of classificatory references posed by historical absence of a full locally based standard for CP. have been discussed in my 'Problems of classification', 198 ff. These problems are of course further exacerbated in the NWFP by the fact that it is Pashto which is the chief challenger to the standard status of U.

⁴⁸ The settlement of the important Tappa Khānī area is, for instance, dated by its inhabitants to the time of the emperor Aurangzeb.

⁴⁹ The theory has been advanced that Pe., as the first city encountered on the passage through the Khyber, actually represents the original form of U., cf. Farigh Bukhari, 'Sarhad me urdu', *Urdu*, January 1955, 81-138, which attempts a rebuttal of Sherrin's well-known thesis of the P. origin of U. The hypothesis must be regarded with some reserve until the historical status of Pe. is better understood.

VOWEL HARMONY IN NOUN-AND-PARTICLE WORDS IN THE TIBETAN OF BALTIŠTAN¹

By R. K. SPRUE

I. Noun-and-definite-particle words

The ethnographic history of the region is so complex, with its imperfectly documented waves of immigration both of Pashto-speakers from the west and of 'Hindko'-speakers from the east,² that it has purposely been disregarded here. We are certainly not at present in a position to say definitely how and when Pe. came into being, or even to account precisely for the origin of the more remarkable of its distinctive features, notably the high-falling tone with glottal constriction, the set of agentive pronouns with -ne, or the 1 pl. termination -ig.

The failure to provide answers to such questions may perhaps be forgiven in a field-work report, whose principal purpose must be to provide fresh descriptive material. If our descriptions have led to a questioning of such categories as the local 'Hindko' or Grierson's 'Northern Lahnda' or of the present accommodation of urban languages within our picture of NIA, this should at least suggest to the reader that field-work in this part of the Indo-Iranian linguistic frontier was long overdue.

² The Pathan-oriented concerns of most writers who have dealt with the NWFP mean that the former have been much the more extensively discussed, although with far from conclusive results, cf. the classic account in O. Caroe, *The Pathans* 530 B.C.-A.D. 1957, London, 1948.

In an earlier study,³ 'Assimilation, and the definite nominal particle in Balti Tibetan' (Spring, 1972), I dealt with vowel harmony in words in which the noun is colligated with the definite nominal particle, a particle that has the constant phonetic form *po* when in junction with the final syllable of a noun ending in a consonant (-*ɕpo*), e.g. *smawpo* 'the medicine', *swan*, but variable phonetic features where the final syllable of the noun ends in a vowel: a share in the features of the resulting word-final long vowel, either -o: or -u: according to vowel harmony.⁴ The former of these two long vowels applies to the 'open' type of junction, e.g. (di) *mjo*: 'this fire', *me*, (di) *zgo*: 'this door', *sgo*, (di) *fto*: 'this horse', *fta*, and the latter to the 'close' type of junction, e.g. *bu*: 'the son', *bu*, (de) *mju*: 'that man', *mi*, as in the following short sentences:

- | | | | | |
|--------|--------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| A. | - <i>ɕpo</i> | <i>smawpo gur jat</i> . | Where is the medicine? | <i>swan</i> |
| B.1.a. | (i) -o: | <i>di zgo: ftat</i> . | Shut this door! | <i>sgo</i> |
| | (ii) -jo: | <i>di mjo: ftaxma baren jat</i> . | This fire is burning well. | <i>me</i> |
| B. | -o:/-ao | <i>di fto:/ftao qari men</i> . | This horse is not my own. | <i>fta</i> |
| 2. | (i) -u: | <i>gola skespi bur nanyu ftu</i> . | The son who was born | <i>bu</i> |
| | (ii) -ju: | <i>de mju: ftasat</i> . | first died last year. | |
| | | | That man has come. | <i>mi</i> |

(*Usoma de Kōrōs*, incidentally, refers to this particle as expressing 'the definite article "the"', with the spelling *po* 'in general, after consonants'; and *ko* 'after vowels', e.g. '*mgy-po*, the eye', '*kha-do*, the mouth' (1834, 32).

II. Words analysable into noun and either genitive or locative particle

In this study I wish to extend the same technique of analysis to noun-and-particle words in which the particle category is exemplified by some particle other than the definite particle, and to show that for them too vowel harmony justifies the same prosodic division into a 'close' type of junction and an 'open'. Examples to support this analysis are drawn from words in which

¹ Based on a paper of the same title read at the *Usoma de Kōrōs Symposium*, Balistanfurel, September 1979.

Balistan is not far from the scene of Kōrōs's research work, in *Ladakhi*: no it seemed to me appropriate that for a study in his honour I should choose a characteristic feature of the Balti dialect of Tibetan. Since Balti is highly conservative, it is reasonable to suppose that, during his stay in Zangskar and Bhahar (Dulka, 1884, 39, 111), he may have heard phonetic forms similar to those which I am analysing here; indeed the recently published *Zangskar vocabulary* (Hochi and Tsering, 1978) shows a high degree of similarity between the Zangskar dialect itself and the Balti dialect.

² My data, drawn from the Shantu dialect of Balti, I collected in 1964-5 from Zakir Hussain, a student at that time, to whom I am duly grateful. For the Tibetan form, romanized from the Tibetan script (my informant, however, wrote his Tibetan in a slightly modified form of the Perso-Arabic script).

³ For a more detailed account, and especially for -ao as an alternative to -o: for open type of junction, e.g. (di) *fto:/ftao* 'this horse', *fta*, and for phonetic forms in -ao such as (di) *kha:to* 'this snow', *kha:to*, see Spring, 1972: 10-13.

Introduction.

According to the 1981 Census Report of Pakistan, Hindko is the most commonly used household language in 2.4% of the households of Pakistan, or 305,505 households. Abbottabad and Mansehra are adjoining districts within the Hazara division of North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and together account for three-fourths of the Hindko-speaking households: just over half of the Hindko-speaking households are located in Abbottabad district and about one-fourth of the Hindko-speaking households live in Mansehra district.

A smaller but significant number of Hindko-speaking households are located in the Peshawar and Kohat districts of NWFP. Other locations with sparse numbers include the Dera Ismail Khan and Mardan districts of NWFP, and the Attock district of Punjab.

Hindko is a language of the Indo-Aryan variety and its dialects were grouped by Grierson (1901) in various sub-divisions of Lahnda, a name he used to classify the various dialects of Western Punjab and adjacent territories. Shackle (1980) has challenged Grierson's handling of Hindko and has presented data from Kohat and Peshawar.

The meaning of the term 'Hindko' is uncertain but some have suggested it means the 'Indian of the mountains'. This meaning may have originated to describe the speech of those Hindko-speakers living in the hilly districts of Abbottabad and Mansehra. The meaning of 'Hindko' in the areas of Kohat and Peshawar has been said to be 'the Indian language', a meaning which distinguishes it from Pashto (Shackle, 1980).

The expression 'Hindki' was mentioned by Grierson as being a synonym of 'Hindko', but Shackle points out that it actually refers to a speaker of Hindko, not the language itself, and has pejorative connotations. My experience in Mansehra district is that Pathans have used the term 'Hindki' to mean a person who is not a Pathan and who speaks Hindko as his first language.

Murphy

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It seems significant that the terms 'Hindko' and 'Hindki' are unique to Pakistan. Within the country, these terms are chiefly used in those areas where interaction with Pathans has been great. This suggests the origin of these terms has been shaped by the interaction of Pathans with non-Pathans.

The people who speak Hindko are not limited to non-Pathans. During our survey of Hazara division, the majority of those we interviewed call themselves Pathans yet speak Hindko as their first language. These people include the Tahir Khel and Swat families, some of whom trace their migration to Hazara division from Afghanistan during the 1700's.

It is notable that the Pathans of the Tahir Khel and Swat families who speak Hindko as their first language claim to have originally spoken Pashto. Other groups we encountered during our survey who speak Hindko as their first language include Moughals, Bulgadris, Turks, Nat, Qureshis, and Awans. We also encountered large numbers of Gujurs who speak Hindko as their first language.

P. 2

Awans, Gujurs, Nat, Qureshis, Turks, Bulgadris, Moughals, all speak Hindko as their first language. u